# PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND.

Patron—THE KING.

# *Quarterly Statement*

FOR 1904.

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# INDEX TO NAMES OF AUTHORS AND TITLES OF CONTRIBUTIONS.

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THE

# PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND.

## NOTES AND NEWS.

THE results of the excavation of Gezer carried on during the last quarter are of considerable interest. No sensational discovery, it is true, has been made, but a great mass of evidence is being steadily accumulated, thus checking or modifying the provisional conclusions of previous quarters. At Ta'anach a couple of cuneiform tablets have been unearthed, and the writer of one of these was possibly the prince of Gezer mentioned in the Amarna Tablets (p. 98 below). We have yet to discover the tablets which must have been sent *to* Gezer, and the Committee are anxious to make every effort to enable Mr. Macalister to make a thorough examination of the tell. The special donations to the excavation comprise a legacy of £50 19*s.* 1*d.* from the late Rev. Hon. R. T. C. Mathieson; George Mathieson, Esq., £10; Rev. H. E. Dixon, £5; and S. Vaughan Morgan, Esq., £5.

A great amount of labour has been spent in clearing the large pool to the south of the rock-cut high place, and the evidence now appears to show that this construction, which must have served as a reservoir for the town, dates from the Maccabean period. Among the objects found in the course of clearing it may be mentioned a Hebrew jar handle with the stamp "Memshath"; it is the only object which—following the generally accepted theory of the age of these stamps—is pre-Maccabean. This, therefore, is a find of some value for the determining of their date. Among other interesting objects should be noticed the flint arrowhead with barbs, the curious drain-pipe made up of fragments of jars, the Astarte plaque (p. 15), the first example of an *adult* human sacrifice (a woman who appears to have been a martyr to rheumatism), and the remarkable imitation of a human head especially noteworthy for its prognathism.

On the necessary suspension of spade-work at Gezer, owing to the winter rains, Mr. Macalister will avail himself of a cordial invitation kindly extended to him by Professor Flinders Petrie, and will proceed to Cairo, with a view of not only studying the carefully-arranged objects in the museum there, but also of spending a week or two at the excavations now being conducted by Professor Petrie at Sakkâra. This visit will not only afford Mr. Macalister some rest and change at a season when the Egyptian climate is at its best, but will enable him to make most careful comparison of the characteristics of the numerous Egyptian objects found by himself at Gezer with the carefully assorted and dated collection in the Cairo Museum. Inasmuch as the progress of the Gezer excavations has more and more confirmed the continued connection of that site with Egypt, Mr. Macalister's visit seems particularly opportune.

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*The St. Louis Exhibition.*—The general arrangement of the Exhibition at St. Louis is now in an advanced stage. The British Commissioner, Colonel Watson, R.E., is a member of our own Executive Committee, and therefore familiar with all the work, some of the results of which we shall exhibit. The Fund has, for many years, received much valuable help from America, both by the subscriptions of members and by the contributions of valued information and suggestions by American scholars. The Committee therefore propose to send as complete an illustration of what the Fund has achieved, and is still achieving, as is compatible with such moderate outlay as they think to be justified—a complete set of the maps, from the original 1-inch survey to the last photo relief map; the large and small Raised Maps; all the publications of the Fund, including the "Palestine Pilgrims' Text," ten volumes; also careful casts of the "Hittite Inscriptions" and the "Siloam Aqueduct Inscription," and a Plan of Jerusalem, with the latest discoveries marked thereon. A special feature of the collection will be the illustration of the work *now in progress* at Gezer. This will consist of a large-scale plan (10 feet by 7 feet) of the site being excavated, with the remains of the various epochs distinguished by different tints; a selection of casts of the objects found; and a splendid series of large photographs (24 inches by 17 inches) showing the actual work going on. It is only on seeing these last that the stranger can have any idea of the vast size and extent of the operations which Dr. Macalister is so ably directing.

The Executive Committee have addressed a circular letter to the several societies of different nationalities, calling attention to the great mischief now being wrought in Palestine by the illicit opening and rifling of tombs, all over the country, by the native villagers. This practice, which has been developed by the demand for antiquities, and the great increase in the number of tourists, is causing the rapid obliteration of valuable historical evidence; for the objects found are sold to travellers, and, it is to be feared, to museums, with false accounts of their provenance, it being unsafe to betray their real source. The letter advocates some joint action as to this, and at the same time invites consultation as to the possibility of mutual arrangement regarding areas of exploration for the different societies, with a view to co-ordination of effort in organised research.

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Mr. Phené Spiers, whose account of the Great Mosque of Damascus appeared in the *Quarterly Statement*, 1897, pp. 282 *sqq.*, contributes to the present number a critical discussion of the ruins of the temple excavated by the Germans at Baalbec. He proposes some interesting explanations of the halls and exedræ, and investigates the date and origin of the leading architectural features. Readers are also indebted to Professor W. Max Müller, of Philadelphia, one of the greatest Egyptologists of the day, for a valuable paper on the Egyptian monument of Tell esh-Shihâb, discovered by Professor George Adam Smith in 1901. His well-known *Asien und Europa* is the standard work upon Palestine in the light of Egyptological discoveries, and the monument in question is naturally valuable evidence for the study of a subject which he has made so peculiarly his own.

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For some years past, four Samaritan manuscripts have been preserved in the offices of the Fund. Although of no antiquity, they are not without their interest, and, for the sake of students of Samaritan literature in particular, it was deemed advisable to publish a short general account of their contents. Mr. Cowley, sub-librarian of the Bodleian, Oxford, an eminent Samaritan scholar, has kindly written a description of these manuscripts (pp. 67 *sqq.*), and the specimens of liturgical compositions (one reaching back to the fourth century of this era) which he has translated will be read with interest by others than specialists.

"The so-called lower pool of Siloam, which for so many years has been a receptacle for sewage, and is such a source of annoyance to all visitors to the Old Pool, has recently been purchased by the Greek ecclesiastical authorities, who have surrounded it with a good wall, have to a large extent cleared it out, and are proposing to make it the site of a convent."—From *Home Words.*

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We regret to learn that there is an outbreak of what is reported to be cholera at Bethlehem, which has consequently been very strictly isolated. Prompt measures have been taken, and there is every reason to hope that the disease may be stamped out before it becomes epidemic. Fever has been unusually prevalent this year.

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In the October number of *Biblia*, Professor W. M. Müller has a communication respecting the two German societies—the Orientgesellschaft and the Vorderasiatische Gesellschaft. The former is a wealthy institution, as it has the aid of the German Emperor and the Court, and its excavations are carried on for the Berlin Museums. The latter was founded by a number of scholars, and, being without official aid, is compelled to limit its sphere of operations according to its means. It has sent Dr. Hugo Winckler to be present at the excavations now carried on at Sidon, and this scholar's report, it is expected, will soon be published. It is interesting to learn that he has discovered a lengthy Aramaic inscription in a well near Sidon. Professor Müller's letter concludes with the hope that readers will join the society, and thus contribute to its funds. We wish the Vorderasiatische Gesellschaft every success.

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*The Tomb of Phillip d'Aubigny.*—At the Annual General Meeting, held last June, it was mentioned by Sir Charles Wilson that the slab tomb of Phillip d'Aubigny had been broken a few months previously. On inquiry as to its present state, we have heard from Mr. Hanauer, who says:—"The injury sustained was a crack across the slab, just below the point of the shield—otherwise all is perfect." As the inscription is well above the head of the shield, it would therefore not have been damaged.

Phillip d'Aubigny was the tutor of Henry III, King of England, and Governor of Jersey and the Channel Islands. The tomb is in the forecourt of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, and near the entrance. It was discovered under a stone bench, when that was

removed in 1867, and the identity of the personage was established, from the chronicle of Matthew Paris, by a young French student, M. Julien Havet. Phillip d'Aubigny was buried here in 1236.—(Clermont-Ganneau, *Arch. Res. Pal.*, p. 106.)

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We learn from *Home Words* that the German Palestinian Archæological Institute at Jerusalem was opened on Sunday, November 15th. A large and representative gathering assembled at the invitation of the director, Professor Gustav Dalman, who made a short speech on the objects and aims of the new undertaking. Professor Löhr gave an address on the famous controversy, "Babel and Bible," and a telegram with good wishes from the Emperor was received with much enthusiasm. Professor Dalman is forming a museum containing specimens of every kind of utensil used by the bedouîn and fellaḥîn, with models of tents, oil-presses, and other larger objects. The programme comprises lectures on the customs of the fellaḥîn and on modern Arabic (especially the native songs) by Professor Dalman, and on the geography of Palestine by Professor Löhr. All those who are interested in the welfare of Palestine cannot but wish this Institute success and prosperity, and we must congratulate it on having at its head so distinguished an Orientalist. Would that this country could establish a similar institute!

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It may be well to mention that plans and photographs alluded to in the reports from Jerusalem and elsewhere cannot all be published, but they are preserved in the office of the Fund, where they may be seen by subscribers. Those sent by Mr. Macalister illustrating the excavations at Gezer which are not reproduced in his quarterly report are held over for the final memoir.

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A number of lectures are to be delivered in Scotland and the provinces on the Fund's excavations at Gezer, and it is hoped that where arrangements have not yet been made, subscribers and those interested in the work will communicate through the Local Secretary.

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The attention of subscribers is called to a work by Sir Charles Warren, entitled "The Ancient Cubit and our Weights and Measures." He brings evidence to show that all weights and measures (except those of the metrical system) are derived from one source—the double-cubit cubed of Babylonia.

The Museum and Library of the Palestine Exploration Fund at Jerusalem have been removed from the room opposite to the Tower of David to the Bishop's Buildings, near the Tombs of the Kings, where the use of a room has been kindly permitted by the Rev. Dr. Blyth, Bishop in Jerusalem and the East. The Museum is open daily, except Sundays, and the Honorary Secretary, Dr. D'Erf Wheeler, will give all information necessary.

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The "Flora of Syria, Palestine, and Sinai," by the Rev. George E. Post, M.D., Beirût, Syria, containing descriptions of all the Phaenogams and Acrogens of the region, and illustrated by 441 woodcuts, may be had at the office of the Fund, price 21*s.*

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The income of the Society from September 22nd to December 21st, 1903, was—from Annual Subscriptions and Donations, including Local Societies, £689 17*s.* 4*d.*; from Lectures, £5 10*s.*; from sales of publications, &c., £123 9*s.*; total, £818 16*s.* 4*d.* The expenditure was, during the same period, £786 18*s.* 9*d.* On December 22nd the balance in the Bank was £276 7*s.* 10*d.*

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Subscribers who have not yet paid their contributions for this year will much facilitate the Committee's efforts by sending their subscriptions, the outgoings on the excavations at Gezer being just now a heavy drain on their funds.

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Subscribers to the Fund are reminded that, whilst the receipt of every subscription and contribution is promptly acknowledged by the Acting Secretary, they will henceforth be published annually, and not quarterly. A complete List of Subscribers and Subscriptions for 1903 will be published in due course in a separate form.

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Subscribers in U.S.A. to the work of the Fund will please note that they can procure copies of any of the publications from the Rev. Professor Theo. F. Wright, Honorary General Secretary to the Fund, 42 Quincy Street, Cambridge, Mass.

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The Committee will be glad to communicate with ladies and gentlemen willing to help the Fund as Honorary Secretaries.

The Acting Secretary has been engaged upon the preparation of a small photo-relief map of Palestine, on a scale of 10 miles to the inch. It has been made from the large raised map published in 1893, and contains all the principal biblical sites and their altitudes. All the chief topographical features are faithfully reproduced, and students of the Bible will find it an indispensable guide. Fuller particulars may be had on application to the office, where advance proofs may be seen.

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Subscribers and others may be reminded that the new Raised Map of Palestine, constructed from the Surveys of the Palestine Exploration Fund, and other sources, by the Acting Secretary, is ready. It is on the scale of $6\frac{1}{4}$ miles to the inch, and measures $3' 6'' \times 2' 6''$. It has already been used with great success by Professors of Old Testament history, and by teachers in Sunday Schools, and may be especially recommended for large classes of students. Further particulars may be had on application.

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Subscribers will please note that they can still obtain a set of the "Survey of Palestine," in four volumes, for £7 7*s*., but the price has been increased to the public to £9 9*s*. The price of single volumes to the public has also been increased. Applications should be made to the Acting Secretary.

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The price of a complete set of the translations published by the Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society, in 13 volumes, with general index, bound in cloth, is £10 10*s*. A catalogue describing the contents of each volume can be had on application to the Secretary, 38 Conduit Street.

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The Museum at the office of the Fund, 38 Conduit Street (a few doors from Bond Street), is open to visitors every week-day from 10 o'clock till 5, except Saturdays, when it is closed at 2 p.m.

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Photographs of the late Dr. Schick's models (1) of the Temple of Solomon, (2) of the Herodian Temple, (3) of the Haram Area during the Christian occupation of Jerusalem, and (4) of the Haram Area as it is at present, have been received at the office of the Fund. Sets of these four photographs, with an explanation by Dr. Schick, can be purchased by applying to the Secretary, 38 Conduit Street, W.

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Branch Associations of the Bible Society, all Sunday Schools within the Sunday School Institute, the Sunday School Union, and the Wesleyan Sunday School Institute, will please observe that by a special Resolution of the Committee they will henceforth be treated as subscribers and be allowed to purchase the books and maps (by application only to the Secretary) at reduced price.

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The Committee will be glad to receive donations of Books to the Library of the Fund, which already contains many works of great value relating to Palestine and other Bible Lands. A catalogue of Books in the Library will be found in the July *Quarterly Statement*, 1893.

The Committee acknowledge with thanks the following :—

"La Question de l'Écriture linéaire dans la Méditerranée primitive" ("Revue Archéologique," 1903), by R. Weill. From the Author.

"Deux Hypogées Macédo-Sidoniens à Beit-Djibrîn" ("Comptes Rendus de l'Acad. d. Inscr. et Belles-Lettres," 1902), by R. P. Lagrange. From the Author.

"Al-Mashrik : Revue Catholique Orientale Bimensuelle."

"Recueil d'Archéologie Orientale." Tome V, Livraisons 24–25. From the Author, Professor Clermont-Ganneau, M.I. *Sommaire* :—§ 56. Fiches et Notules : Nouvelle inscription phénicienne de Sidon, &c. § 57. Deux statues phéniciennes à inscriptions. § 58. Nouvelle inscription grecque du pays de Tyr. § 59. Fiches et Notules : Echmoun de Sidon et Melkart de Tyr, &c. § 60. Le δι' ἡμᾶς et Dimas le mauvais larron. § 61. Les Bohémonds princes d'Antioche, successeurs de Renaud de Châtillon, d'après les sources arabes.

*See* further "Foreign Publications," pp. 96–98 below.

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For list of authorised lecturers and their subjects, write to the Secretary.

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Whilst desiring to give publicity to proposed identifications and other theories advanced by officers of the Fund and contributors to the pages of the *Quarterly Statement*, the Committee wish it to be distinctly understood that by publishing them in the *Quarterly Statement* they neither sanction nor adopt them.

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FORM OF BEQUEST TO THE PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND.

I give to the Palestine Exploration Fund, London, the sum of _____ to be applied towards the General Work of the Fund; and I direct that the said sum be paid, free of Legacy Duty, and that the Receipt of the Treasurer of the Palestine Exploration Fund shall be a sufficient discharge to my Executors.

Abstracts of papers read before the British Association Meeting at Belfast, 1902. (Section E.)

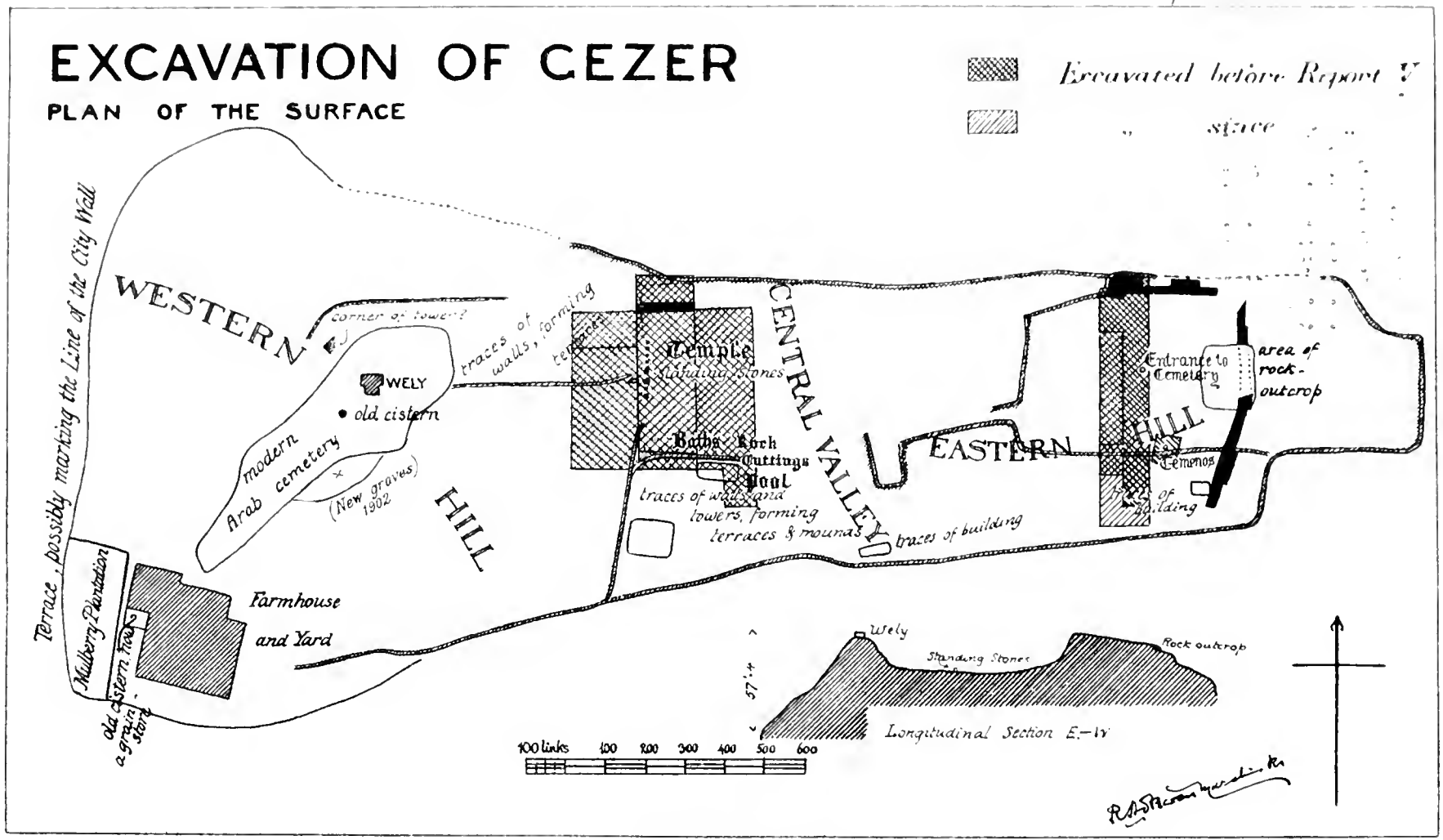
*Signature* _____

*Witnesses* { _____ _____ _____ }

NOTE.—*Three Witnesses are necessary in the United States of America; Two suffice in Great Britain.*

# EXCAVATION OF GEZER

## PLAN OF THE SURFACE



# SIXTH QUARTERLY REPORT ON THE EXCAVATION OF GEZER.

16 *August*—16 *November*, 1903.

By R. A. Stewart Macalister, M.A., F.S.A.

## § I.—Summary of the Quarter's Work.

The excavation has proceeded since the forwarding of the last report, with two interruptions—first, a three weeks' interval of rest which I gave myself and the labourers during September, and, secondly, a week in November, during which an attack of the fever that has been epidemic in the district throughout the summer prevented me from allowing the work to be carried on, as I was unable to attend to the walls or the objects unearthed.

The discoveries that have been made this quarter are not quite of such exceptional interest. This is due to two causes: partly simple chance, the soil turned over (though not less prolific than that examined in previous quarters) containing fewer exceptional objects; and partly the very considerable time occupied in the clearance of the large pool south of the rock-cut high place, the excavation of which had been commenced when the previous report was forwarded. I confess to have been doubtful at times as to the advisability of devoting so much labour to a work which, as the event proved, was not very productive in interesting antiquities; but it was, of course, impossible to foresee what might or might not lie concealed in the silt at the bottom—objects were as likely to be found there as anywhere else—and in any case it is satisfactory to have obtained the complete design of a very remarkable, and, perhaps, unique engineering work.

In addition to the clearance of this pool, the Seleucid necropolis of the city has been located and its examination commenced, and the trenching of the Eastern Hill has been continued.

## § II.—The Pool.

The difficulty of clearing the pool will be realised when it is remembered that it was filled, not with earth, but with large heavy stones which had evidently been thrown into it, and that each of

these stones had to be carried out separately—many of them, indeed, had to be broken into several pieces with a sledge-hammer before they could be removed.

The length and breadth are given in the previous report (p. 321 of last year's *Quarterly Statement*) at 57 and 46 feet respectively. Amid many expressions of rejoicing on the part of the foreman and labourers, tired of the arduous work of transporting large stones, bottom was found at a depth of 25 feet 6 inches below the level of the rock, 11 feet 6 inches below the surface of the ground. Their satisfaction, however, after a few hours' further excavation turned out to be premature; for in the centre of the floor of the pool a second pool was found to be sunk, 27 feet long and 24 feet 6 inches broad,[1] which proved to be of about the same depth as the first. The excavation of this lower pool was less troublesome, in that it was almost completely filled with silt, and contained but few large stones; but as all its contents had to be carried up to the present surface of the ground, the work proceeded more and more slowly with every increase of depth.

The two pools are wholly quarried in the soft porous chalky limestone which forms the rock of the hill. The sides, which are irregular and have many hollows and projecting bosses, are covered with two coats of cement, each about $\frac{3}{8}$ inch thick, the outer coat being smooth and comparatively fine, the inner coat being gritty. As the work proceeded a careful search was kept up all round the walls for marks, graffiti, or inscriptions, but none were found. A flight of steps, the lower part cut in the rock, the upper part of masonry and now much broken, runs down the western side of the upper pool, and returns a short distance on the southern side: it is continued by a narrow flight, wholly rock-cut, running down the southern and eastern sides of the lower pool (Fig. 1).

A rough calculation shows that the pool, when full, would contain in round numbers some four million gallons of water. It is evident that it was excavated as a public work, to serve as a common reservoir for the use of the town, perhaps also to supply the two baths already discovered and reported upon,[2] which are close by. How the pool was filled with water is a problem on which the excavation has thrown no light whatever. No doubt

[1] These are the measurements at the top; it narrows toward the bottom.

[2] *Quarterly Statement*, 1903, p. 113.

surface and roof drainage was conveyed to it by some system of conduits, but no tangible trace of any such construction was discovered.

The question of the date to which the pool is to be assigned must now be re-examined. That it was open at the latest period of the occupation of the *tell* is shown by the entire absence of foundations and of antiquities in the soil that overlay its surface. It seems clear that when the site was finally abandoned, and devoted to pasture or tillage, this great chasm was recognised as

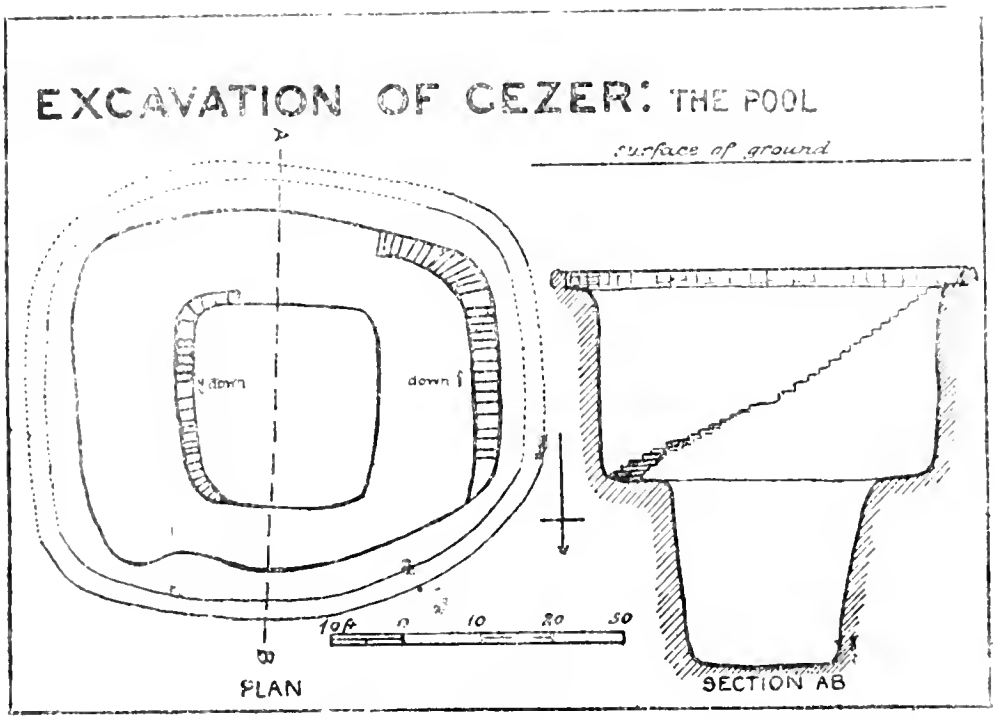



FIG. 1.—The Pool.

being useless and dangerous, and was in consequence filled up purposely with the large stones that no doubt at that time cumbered the hilltop in much greater quantities than at present. (Among these stones, it may be observed in passing, are several bearing coarse mouldings, also a fragment of a volute of an Ionic capital. No buildings have yet been discovered with which these remains can be associated.) Then vegetable soil gradually grew over the heap of stones, so that at last the hollow was filled up and the pool forgotten.

All the datable objects, with one exception, found within the pool belong unmistakably to the Maccabean period. The one

exception, it is curious to note, is the only jar-handle yet found on the mound bearing the royal stamp of the unknown town "Memshath."[1] The other objects discovered were potsherds and a few more or less sound vessels, undoubtedly Maccabean, handles and other fragments of Rhodian wine-amphoræ (including several with Greek stamps), a few small Ptolemaic coins, beads, and fragments of iron picks, possibly broken tools of the quarrymen. The great depth of silt in the lower pool seems to show that the reservoir was seldom if ever cleared out; and there is no reason to suppose that the relics found are merely the last accumulation, and that in previous cleansings of the reservoir earlier remains were removed. The Hebrew jar-handle (which might have been washed or thrown in at any time) cannot, I think, upset the unanimous testimony of the remaining objects as to the Maccabean date of the pool.

In favour of this conclusion may be advanced another consideration. As I have just said, it is evident that the reservoir was a great municipal work, designed to supply the town with water, especially in the case of a siege. In earlier pre-Captivity times the same end was attained by the numerous cisterns scattered all over the surface of the hill. These cisterns had all been closed up and forgotten before the Maccabean period; this follows from the almost total absence of Maccabean pottery among the numerous sherds recovered from the débris within them. Had they been in use this great and expensive work would have been unnecessary. The only time when they were not in use was the Maccabean period, and it follows that this is the most probable period to which to assign the excavation of the pool.

An argument which I brought forward in the last report, before the excavation was complete, drawn from the dip of the lower strata towards the pool, and which I relied upon to indicate that the pool was a more ancient work handed down and used by many generations of the inhabitants, is evidently invalid. The dip of the strata may merely indicate that there was a natural hollow in the ground, the existence of which possibly determined the choice of the site for the excavation.

[1] [Hommel has suggested that ממשת is the *Mampsio* (Μαψις) of the *Onomastica* (Lagarde, 85, 3; 210, 86), on the road from Eiath to Hebron, one day's journey from *Thamara* (*Expository Times*, xii, p. 288; 1901).—Ed.]

## § III.—Buildings.

All the walls uncovered during this quarter have been ordinary house-walls, or rather their foundations; most of them in a state of extreme dilapidation. Some additional sections of the city walls

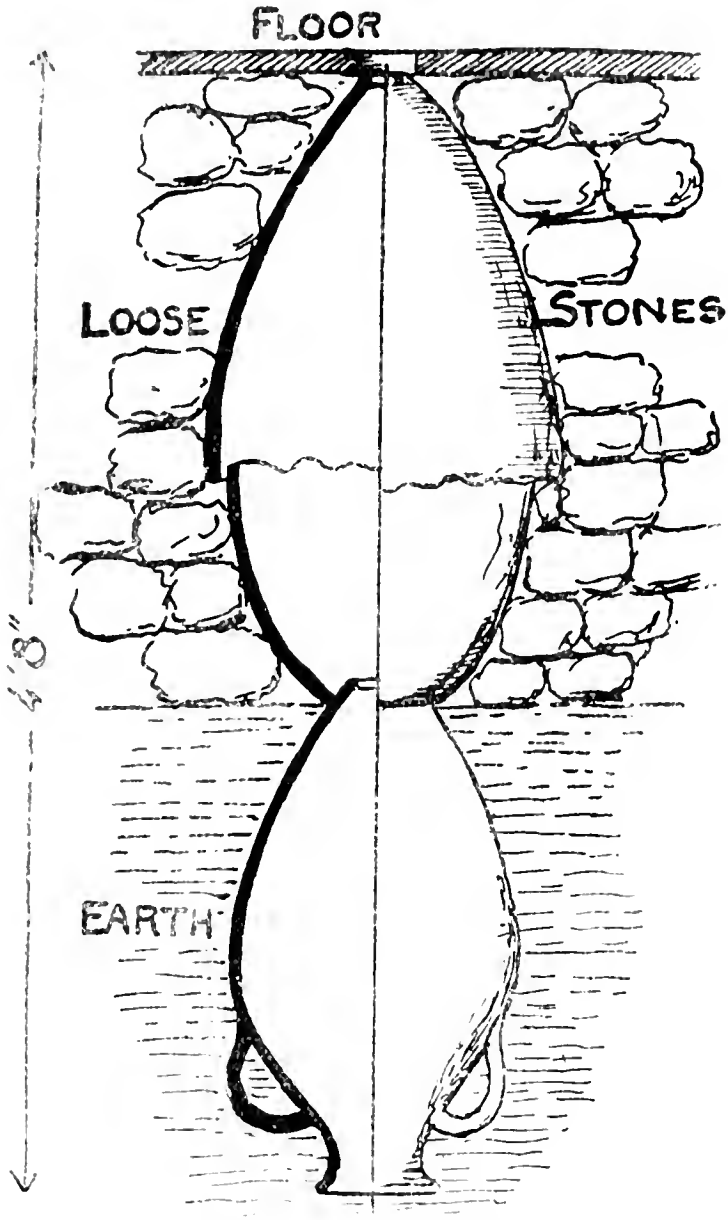



Fig. 2.—Drain of Jars.

have been excavated, and I hope later to report further on these constructions; for the present I shall only say that some of the provisional theories respecting them contained in previous reports will probably have to be revised.

Of the domestic structures none need be referred to here, with the exception of a row of small chambers belonging to the lowest stratum of building (Stratum II, Stratum I being the rock-cut dwellings). These chambers contained burnt grain—in one barley, in another wheat, in a third a mixture of these grains, in others various species of vetches (peas, &c.). Another contained chopped straw. Evidently the series formed a grain magazine or market that had been destroyed by fire. The first two of the chambers were found in 1902, just before the work was transferred to the neighbourhood of the Canaanite temple; the excavation of the entire row has now been completed.

In this section I may also refer to a curious erection of fragments of jars found under the floor of the corner of a room of the second stratum. The room was paved with a plaster layer, in which a round hole had been cut; underneath this was the lower half of a jar, inverted, with an aperture cut in the base. There were two other portions of jars underneath the first. The accompanying figure represents the elevation and section of this construction, which was no doubt a drain meant to carry away water from the floor; compare the drain figured p. 20 of last year's *Quarterly Statement*, and the much more elaborate Babylonian example figured in Hilprecht's *Excavations in Bible Lands*, p. 365. The drain here described did not lead to any conduit or cesspool, but merely conveyed water downwards so as to be dispersed through the soil under the foundation of the house. Two more drains, of almost identical pattern, have been discovered during the writing of this report.

## § IV.—Stone, Bronze, and Iron Objects.

The only objects in stone calling for notice here are, first, a flint arrowhead $1\frac{1}{4}$ inches long which has just been found in the fourth stratum during the writing of this report. It is the only flint arrowhead with barbs that I have seen from Palestine. Barbed *bronze* arrowheads have not appeared in the Fund excavations before the Seleucid period (seventh stratum at Gezer). Secondly, a fine mould for casting bronze daggers, chisels, axeheads, and celts (third stratum).

In bronze the majority of the objects found have been of the usual types—arrowheads, pins, needles, spatulas, chisels, rings,

axeheads, and a spearhead. These are found in all strata indiscriminately, except, of course, the Neolithic first and second. A copper knife-blade from the third stratum, and a small bronze squatting figure of an animal, found in a cistern belonging to the fourth, are perhaps worth mention.

The principal iron objects have been much corroded and broken fragments of picks and hooks, perhaps quarrymen's tools, found in the large pool.

## § V.—Religion and Folklore.

Numerous specimens of Astarte plaques, presenting an interesting variety of types (a full discussion of which must be postponed till


Fig. 3.—Figure of Astarte.

the concluding memoir) have come to light. These have all been found in the fourth stratum. The most interesting yet found is here illustrated (Fig. 3); it is remarkable, in the first place for being unbroken, and in the second for the thoroughly Egyptian

equipment of the figure; it might almost be taken as a representation of Hathor. As a general rule any distinctively Egyptian features are conspicuously absent from these plaques, unless we count the lotus-flower which the figures are frequently represented as grasping in their hands.

In Fig. 4 is shown a very curious conventionalised plaque (reduced to half size). Here the human figure has degenerated to two discs, a larger and a smaller, the larger having a circular notch cut out on each side. The upper surface bears rows of indented dots round the edges and down the middle; some of these are emphasised with a spot of red paint.

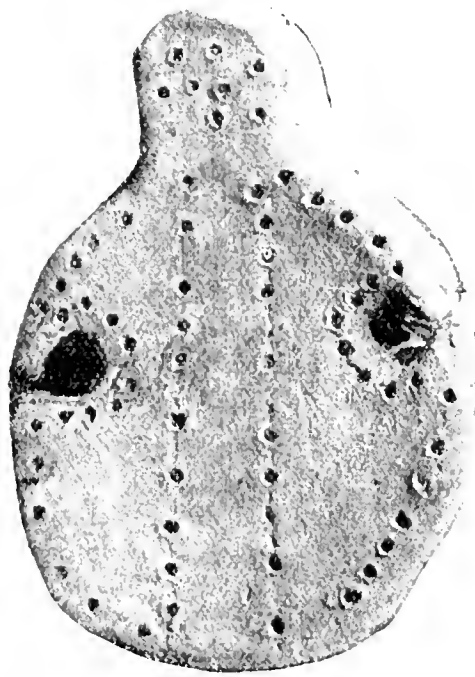
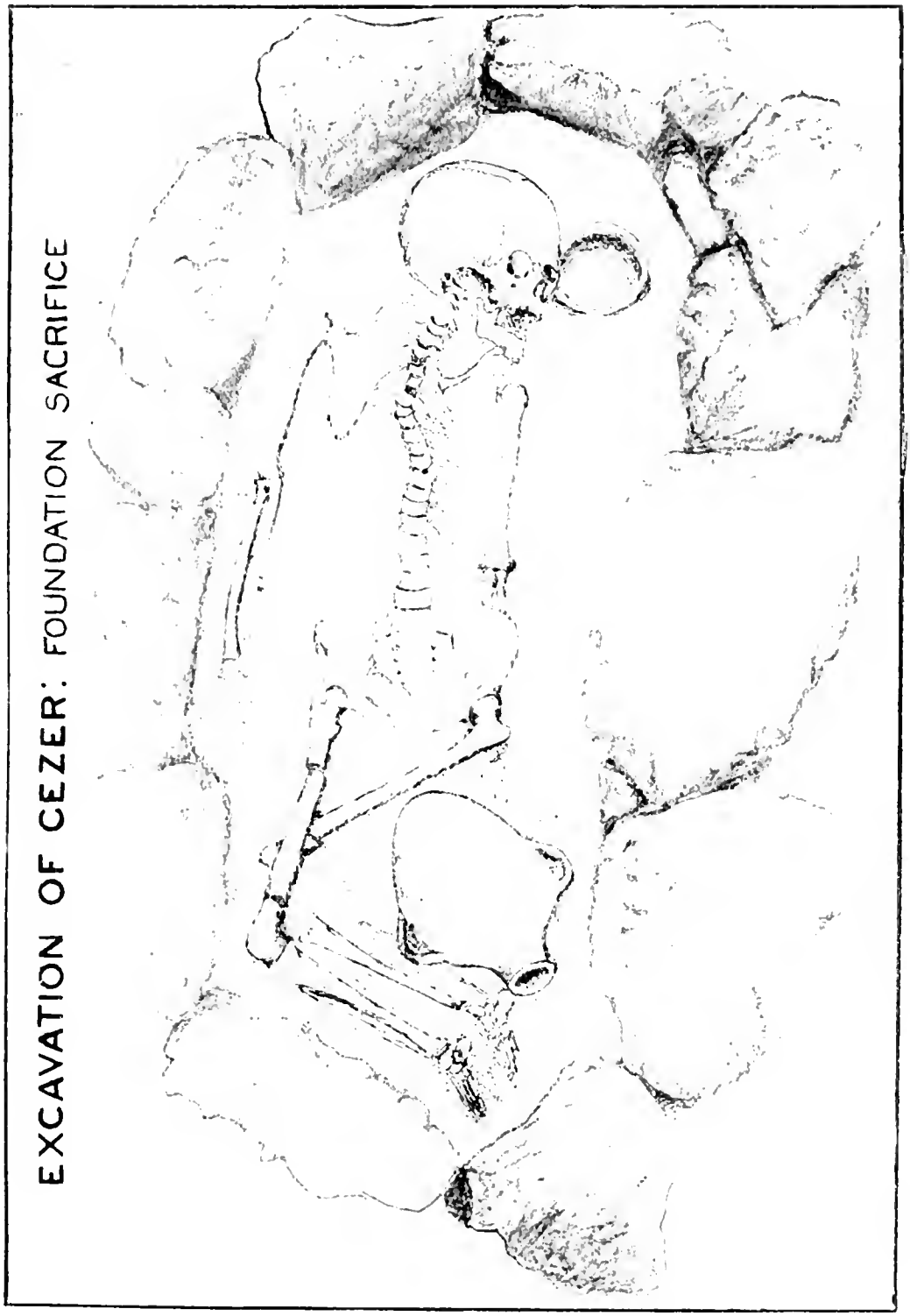


FIG. 4.—Conventionalised Astarte Plaque.

In the second stratum was found the first example of an *adult* human foundation sacrifice as yet discovered on the site. This was the skeleton of a woman of advanced age, deposited in a hollow under the corner of a house. The body was lying on its back, the legs being bent up (but not doubled); at the head was a small bowl, and between the femora and tibiæ a large two-handled jar—no doubt food-vessels. The exact disposition of the skeleton is shown on Plate II. Pathologically the skeleton had some interest, the right arm and shoulder having been distorted by some rheumatic affection.

*Palestine Exploration Fund. Pl. II.*



EXCAVATION OF GEZER: FOUNDATION SACRIFICE

## § VI.—Pottery.

No new forms have come to light except a curious filter, 5 inches in diameter, from the third stratum. It is broken, but the complete plan can be made out—a small bowl, with perforations in the bottom, having a wide rim that no doubt rested on the mouth of the vessel intended to receive the purified liquid. There was one handle, now broken off, attached to the rim.

A few more lamp-and-bowl deposits have been found and noted; they add nothing, however, to our knowledge of the site represented by them. A cave containing several pieces of very early pottery deposited round the wall (*see* § VII) has been opened, but the types have been represented by other vessels already discovered and illustrated.

## § VII.—Caves and Cisterns.

The area of the mound is being excavated in successive sections 40 feet wide and 80 or 90 feet long, and scarcely one of these sections is carried down to the rock surface without the mouth of a cave or a cistern being exposed. These are all, as I have already stated, carefully cleared of their contents as soon as they are found.

Two caves found during the past quarter are of special interest. The first[1] is approached by a downward slope cut in the rock, 7 feet 3 inches long and 2 feet 10 inches across, terminating in a small circular cell 5 feet 6 inches in diameter. From this cell a side doorway leads into the principal chamber, which is about 8 feet in maximum height; about half the area of the floor is raised by a step 2 feet 9 inches above the other half. The lower part of the floor is covered with a series of shallow cups, most of them about 10 inches deep and 1 foot 6 inches across. It is these which mark out the cave as unique among those yet found on the tell, and raise interesting, but at present insoluble, problems as to the purpose of its excavation.

Close by this cave a cistern of the ordinary bottle shape was opened at a later period. This cistern belongs to the lowest stratum of building on the tell, as no shaft was found carrying its mouth up through the débris. That it is later than the cave,

[1] [Plans and photographs are held over until the final memoir.]

however, is shown by the great length of the shaft of the cistern—rather more than twice the ordinary length; the reservoir had to be cut below the level of the cave in order to avoid breaking into it.

The second cave contained two chambers connected by an unroofed passage scarfed in the rock. Access to the first (southern) chamber was gained originally by a stepped passage of the usual sort; a wall had been built across the entrance leading to the unroofed passage. On the surface of the earth, with which the chamber was more than half filled, were deposited, evidently in ordered arrangement, the fragments of two large jars broken longitudinally in halves and lying on their sides; they contained

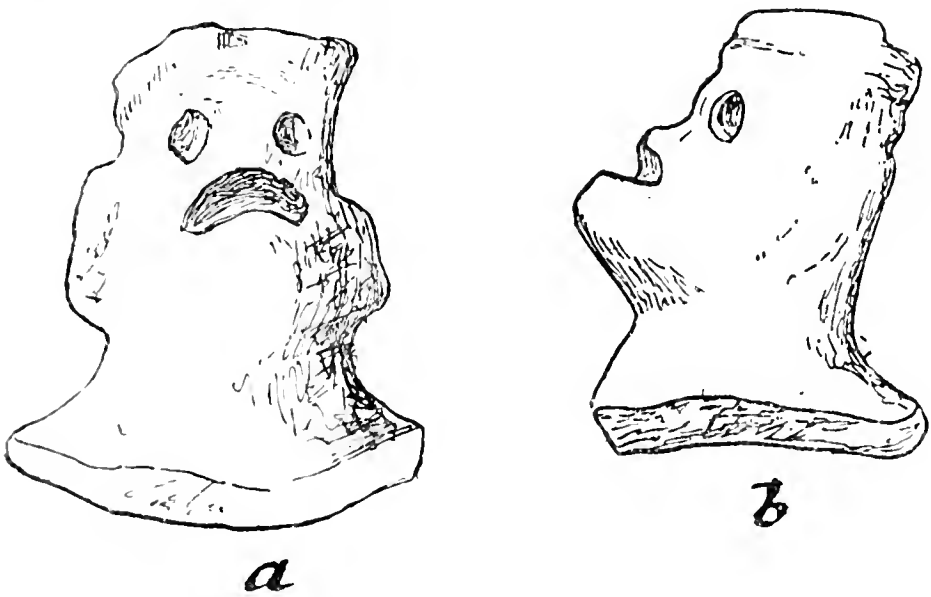



Fig. 5. Pottery Head from Troglodyte Cave.

much decayed bone débris. There were also three saucers, two jugs, and one spouted vessel lying beside the walls of the chamber. The pottery was all of the type found in the burial cave described in the first of the present series of reports. There were also a fragment of the occipital region of a skull, and splinters of a much-decayed femur. Under the surface of the earth were found many fragments of the characteristic cave pottery and pieces of cow bones; there was also a part of the lower jaw of a child of about six years, and some fragments of an infant's skull. The most interesting object, however, was a very singular human head in pottery, probably the oldest attempt at modelling yet found in the tell. It is here illustrated (Fig. 5) as a unique example of troglodyte

art. The marked prognathism, which probably reflects a characteristic of the race to which the artist belonged, will not escape notice. It is $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches high.

The floor of this chamber, like that of the cave already described, had two cup-marks. Part of its area was covered with a pavement of lime, underneath which was nothing but one or two rude flaked flint knives.

The passage connecting the chambers contained some further specimens of troglodyte pottery, and a collection of remarkably fine flaked flint knives. The second chamber contained nothing but potsherds and a fragment of a stone mortar.

## § VIII.—Egyptian Objects.

The only Egyptian objects catalogued in this quarter's journal, beside the scarabs tabulated below, are the lower part of a small figure in grey friable paste (between Strata III and IV), and a Horus-eye and small pendant plaque with a seated female figure in relief upon it, both in green enamelled paste (Stratum V).

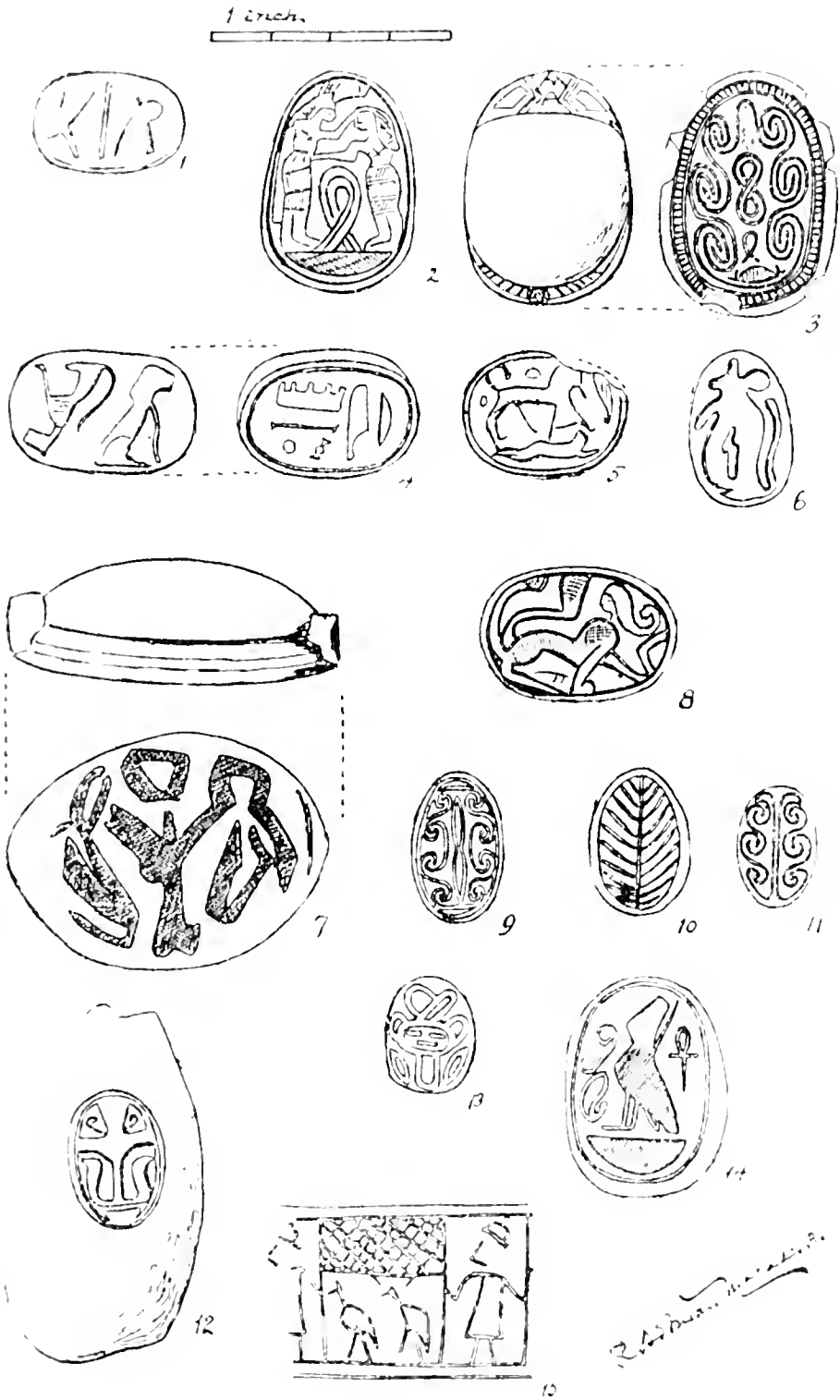
As in previous reports, I catalogue the scarabs in tabular form :—

| No. | Fig. on Pl. III. | Stratum. | Material. | Device. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | — | III | Hæmatite .. | Scaraboid—no device. |
| 2 | — | III | Jade .. .. | No device. |
| 3 | — | III | Paste (much decayed). | Illegible. |
| 4 | 1 | III | Steatite .. .. | Defaced. A symmetrical arrangement of *m'ʿt* feathers (?). |
| 5 | 2 | Between III and IV. | Steatite .. .. | Two figures with a knot between them. |
| 6 | 3 | III–IV | Diorite .. .. | Spirals. |
| 7 | 4 | IV | Blue enamelled paste. | Scaraboid : on one side two lions, on the other nb'Imnti, "Lord of the Other World." |
| 8 | 5 | V | Steatite .. .. | Lion and crocodile. |
| 9 | 7 | V | White limestone | Uninteligible. |
| 10 | 6 | V | Green enamelled paste. | Figure of Bes (?). |
| 11 | 8 | From a cistern | Steatite .. .. | Sphinx. |

Among the objects on Plate III mention should be made of the cylinder, No. 15 (Stratum V), and the scarab-stamps on jar-handles

# EXCAVATION OF CEZER

SCARABS (1–8) & SCARAB SEALS



(Nos. 9–14). No. 12 represents a small rudely modelled vessel in black pottery with a scarab stamp on the side from Stratum IV. The scarab-seals are of the ordinary type—geometrical and spiral devices arranged symmetrically, except No. 14, from Stratum IV, and the palm-leaf (No. 10), two specimens of which were found, also in IV. No. 11 is a conjectural restoration of a much defaced example

## § IX.—The Seleucid Necropolis.

That, at least, part of the tombs referable to the Seleucid period of occupation are to be looked for on the northern slope of the hill south of the tell is shown by the existence of a number of tombs which have been rifled at some former time and left open. These open tombs are not many, and they are sufficiently far apart to raise the hope that unrifled tombs will be found interspersed among them. During the coming quarter I hope to prosecute a search for these.

The opened tombs have evidently been broken into many years ago—this is indicated by their being almost all filled up with silt. I have commenced operations on the necropolis by clearing out two of these tombs completely in order to recover their plans and to test the chance of finding objects left behind by the maranders.

The result has been encouraging, at least in the case of one of these tombs. I prefer to hold back the plans until I have more nearly completed the examination of the necropolis, when all can be collected and published together. The first tomb examined is a single chamber which had evidently been closed by a rolling stone; on each side are arcosolia, and, at the inner end, a group of sunk bench graves. Nothing was found in this tomb except a few bones. The second proved much more important. It was evidently the tomb of some family of distinction, and was an elaborate and costly work. A square vestibule sunk in the rock, and now open to the sky, gives access to two chambers, one on the southern, the other on the eastern side. The eastern chamber contains arcosolia; the southern has sunk bench graves round the wall, and strewn on the floor were found a few fragments that evidently formed part of a carved sarcophagus which probably stood in the middle. South of this chamber is a second, smaller apartment, also containing sunk bench graves. Over the door

leading to this inner chamber are rudely carved two bulls' heads (one of them badly chipped) and a wreath, in low relief (Fig. 6).

The edge of the rock surface round the open vestibule is rebated, obviously for receiving the foundation of some structure of the type of the Herodian monument at Jerusalem, commonly called "Absalom's Pillar." Not one stone of this building remains, so that it is useless to speculate on its architectural details. But it is quite clear from the cuttings around other tombs that have not yet been submitted to examination, that when the Maccabean city of Gazara was flourishing, the hill-side facing it was ornamented with a number of monuments whose general style no doubt resembled the well-known erections still remaining in the Kedron valley.

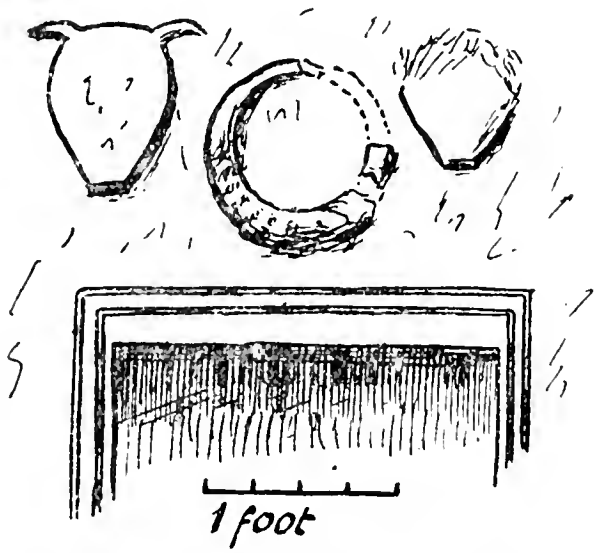



FIG. 6.—Ornament over Inner Door of Seleucid Tomb.

A narrower passage, also cut in the rock and once covered over by building, leads into the vestibule of the tomb. In the eastern side of this passage is a door giving admission to another chamber having arcosolia round the walls

The earth with which the chambers, vestibule, and entrance passage of this tomb were almost filled was cleared out and sifted carefully. There is always the possibility of finding objects which to tomb-thieves seem of no value, and are consequently neglected by them. These tombs were probably rifled long before the great development of tourist traffic created a demand for antiquities of pottery and glass: consequently such objects, being at the time

unsalable, would have been left behind and nothing but the deposits of gold and other precious material stolen. This argument proved valid in the present case, for a number of lamps, some prettily ornamented, and one with a Greek inscription, a considerable quantity of beads, a small bronze bell, and a remarkable portable altar in soft limestone came to light. The lamps are of

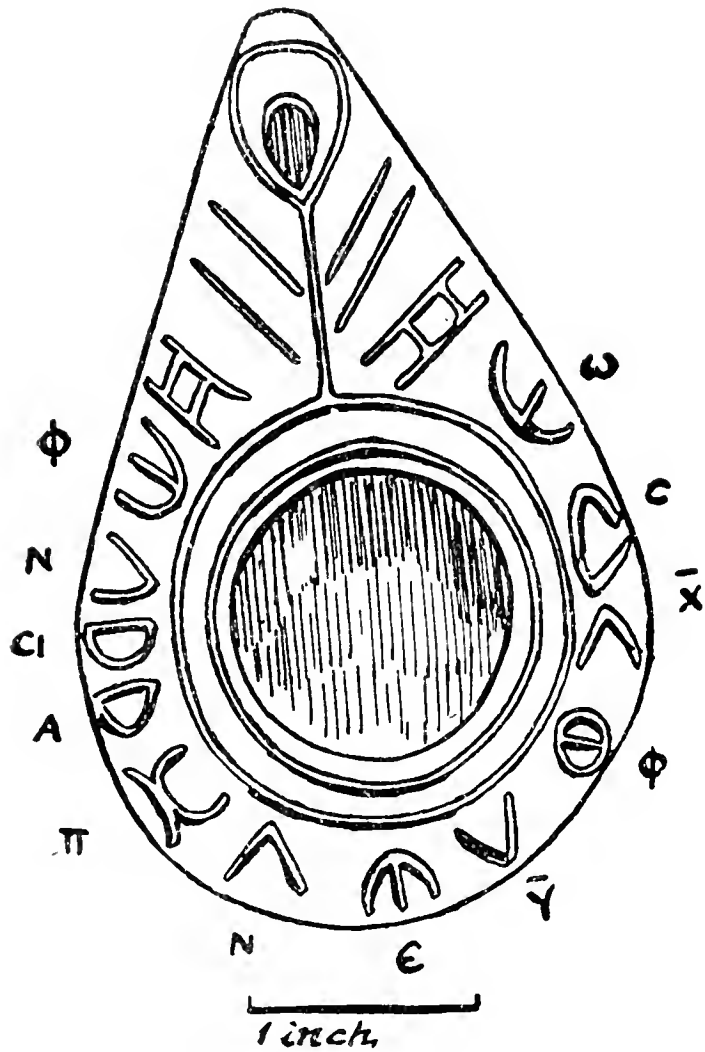



FIG. 7. Inscribed Lamp from a Tomb near Gezer.

the late Byzantine type, and no doubt belong to the last interments in the tomb; the legend on the inscribed lamp is a singularly blundered copy of the common formula, ΦΩC XY (Χρίστου) ΦΕΝ ΠΑCΙΝ, and thus definitely connects the interments in the tomb with Christianity. This, it may be remarked, is the first evidence of a settled Christian population at Gezer or its immediate

neighbourhood. The Φ of ΦΕΝ is interpolated between the X and Y of the preceding abbreviation.

An illustration of this lamp is subjoined. By itself the inscription would, I believe, be absolutely unintelligible: I confess that it completely baffled me till I happened to see in the *Mittheilungen des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins* (1903, p. 22) a figure of a very similar lamp in the possession of the German Archæological Institute at Jerusalem, illustrating a paper by Professor Dalman. The inscription on this example is evidently identical with that on the Gezer lamp, but is much easier to decipher, the letters being more regularly formed.

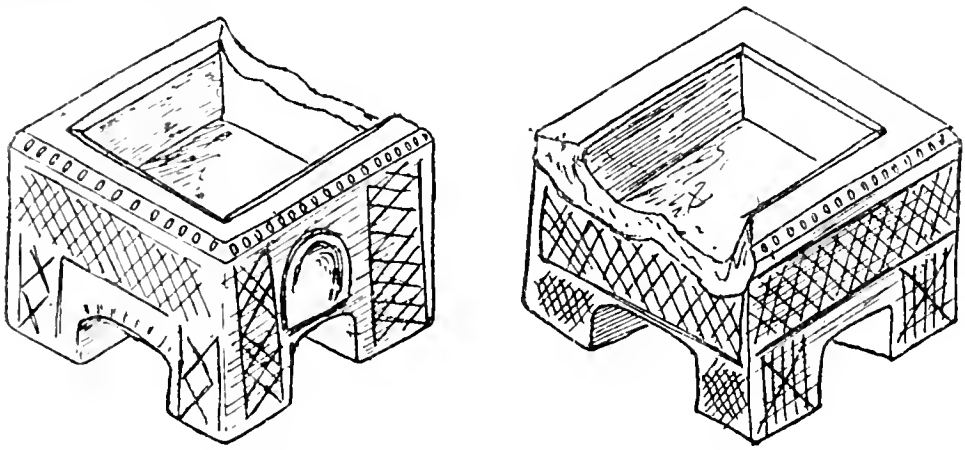


FIG. 8.—Altar from a Tomb near Gezer.

The altar (for such I suppose it to be) was found in fragments in the vestibule of the tomb. An illustration of this interesting object also is forwarded (Fig. 8). It will be remembered that a somewhat similar relic was found in a tomb opened by the Fund officers at Beit Jibrin, and is illustrated in *Excavations in Palestine*, Plate XC, Fig. *q*.

The Gezer example is a box of soft limestone, 6 inches square and $1\frac{3}{4}$ inches deep, standing on four legs. The outer surface is ornamented with rude linear ornament, shown in the figure. It is not unlike an ossuary in appearance, but of course its shape and small size quite preclude that explanation of its purpose.

The other objects from the tomb need not be illustrated at present: they will be described in the concluding memoir with the final account of this necropolis.

A clue to the date at which the tomb was rifled is perhaps afforded by an unexpected discovery made in one of the side

chambers. This was a couple of brass tokens, one of them being a specimen of the well-known coinage of Hans Schultes, the "Rechenmeister," or money-changer and banker, of Nuremberg. Of the many types of token issued by this person, which I have examined from time to time, I have never seen a dated example, and am not aware whether his date has been accurately determined; from the costume of a figure represented on a specimen in my own possession—doubtless intended for Schultes himself—I should conjecture him to have lived in the earlier half of the sixteenth century. By what channel his token reached a chamber in a Palestinian tomb, and how long the journey occupied, it is of course impossible to say, but if we conjecture that the tomb has been opened for at least 150 years we shall, I think, allow a liberal time for the token to travel from Nuremberg to its singular destination.[1]

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## GOLGOTHA AND THE HOLY SEPULCHRE.

By Major-General Sir C. W. Wilson, K.C.B., F.R.S., R.E., &c.

(*Concluded from p.* 249.)

In the concluding section of these notes I propose to consider some of the views of those earnest Christians of all denominations who, for various reasons, find themselves unable to accept the traditional sites as genuine.

The situation of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre within the modern city is, in itself, almost suggestive of doubt. Educated pilgrims to the Holy City are often sorely perplexed when they visit the "holy places" for the first time. They know that Christ suffered without the gate. They find Golgotha within the walls of a small Oriental city and in close proximity to its thronged bazârs. They may realise that the Jerusalem of Herod was not a large city, and may believe that the ground upon which the church stands was outside the walls at the time of the Crucifixion; but at the same time there lingers in their minds an uneasy feeling

[1] There are two slight misprints in the last Report which require correction. At the end of the first paragraph, *foremen* should be *foreman*: and on p. 321, line 3, *profanus* should, of course, be *profanum*.

El-Fdhemiyeh: "Jeremiah's Grotto" and "Skull Hill."

with regard to the accuracy of the received tradition. They see little in the church that seems to be in complete harmony with the familiar Gospel narrative. The features of the ground have been so altered, there has been so much building, and the "holy places" are so obscured by decorative and votive offerings, that a strong effort of the imagination is required to restore the form of the ground as it existed before the churches of Constantine were built. Many pilgrims, either from indolence or from want of knowledge, never attempt to make the effort. They form a hasty and unfavourable opinion upon a difficult and obscure question, and seek some spot which appeals more directly to the eye and to their preconceived ideas of the character and appearance of Golgotha.

The date at which doubts with regard to the authenticity of the "holy places" first arose is unknown. But some explanation of their position within the walls seems to have been considered necessary as early as the eighth century. The quaint statement of Willibald[1] (*circ.* A.D. 754), that Calvary was formerly outside Jerusalem, "but Helena, when she found the Cross, arranged that place so as to be within the city," reads like a reply to the remarks of some doubting spirit of his age. A somewhat clearer appreciation of the situation is noticeable in the twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth centuries. Thus Saewulf[2] (1102–3), Wilbrand von Oldenberg[3] (1212), Jacobus de Vitriaco[4] (Jacques de Vitry, *circ.* 1226), Burchardus de Monte Sion[5] (1283), Odoricus de Foro Julii, Fréjus[6] (1320), and Guilielmus de Boldensele[7] (1332), maintained that Hadrian, when he rebuilt Jerusalem, greatly enlarged the city and enclosed Golgotha and the Holy Sepulchre which were previously outside the walls.

There would appear to have been for several centuries two conflicting views: one that the city had been moved from its

[1] *Hod.*, xviii, see *P.P. Text Series*, vol. iii, p. 19.

[2] *Relatio de per. Saewulfi*, &c.; see *P.P.T.S.*, vol. iv, pp. 9, 10.

[3] *Itin. Terr. Sanct.*, in Laurent's *Peregrinatores medii ævi quatuor.*

[4] *Hist. Or.*, in Bongar's *Gesta Dei*, see *P.P.T.S.*, vol. xi, p. 39.

[5] *Descriptio Terr. Sanct.*, ch. viii, Jerusalem; in Laurent's *Peregrinatores*, &c.; Eng. trans. in *P.P.T.S.*, vol. xii, pp. 66, 79.

[6] *Liber. de Terr. Sanct.*, in Laurent's *Peregrinatores*, &c.

[7] *Hod. ad Terr. Sanct.* Boldensele adds that the sepulchre was not the rock-hewn tomb in which the body of Christ had been laid, but was constructed of stones cemented together.

original position to the vicinity of the sepulchre,[1] the other held by those who impiously asserted that the tomb had been moved and not the city (Gretser, A.D. 1598).[2]

According to Jacques Le Saige of Donai (1518), the representative of the Holy Sepulchre who went with pilgrims to Palestine insisted, "que nous falloit avoir foy des Lieux-Saincts qu'on nous monstreroit, ou, se ne volliesme estre tels, que ne prissiesme de palme."[3]

Quaresmius (1639)[4] alludes to and refutes those "befogged (or scoundrelly) western heretics" (*nebulones Occidentales hæreticos*), who argued that the tradition tomb could not be the true one because (1) it was inside the walls and almost in the middle of the city, (2) Joseph of Arimathea would not have hewn his tomb near a place where criminals were executed and buried, (3) a tomb west of the Holy Sepulchre was shown as that of Joseph, and should therefore, according to the Bible, be the place in which the body of Jesus was laid, and (4) the bodies of criminals were thrown into a common tomb, and for this the traditional sepulchre was not suitable. Monconys[5] (1647) writes that Calvary, according to tradition, was outside Jerusalem, but that it was difficult to realise this, since the place was then in the centre of the city, which was much smaller than at the time of the Crucifixion.

In the eighteenth century the authenticity of the "holy places" was vigorously attacked and denied by Jonas Korte,[6] a bookseller of Altona, who visited Jerusalem in 1738. Korte's view is succinctly described in the title of one of the chapters of his book—"On Mount Calvary, which now lies in the middle of the town and cannot therefore be the true Calvary." He argues that the traditional Golgotha is too near the site of the Temple,

[1] Burchardus, *l.c.*; *see* also Ludolph von Sudheim, *Descriptio Terr. Sanct.*, xxxviii; Eng. trans. in *P.P.T.S.*, vol. xii, p. 98; and Gretser, who quotes Pope Nicholas I.

[2] *Opera Omnia*, vol. i; *De Sancta Cruce*, lib. i, cap. 17, De loco in quo Dominus crucifixus est.

[3] *Voyage de J. Le S.*, ed. Duthillœul, 1852, p. 98.

[4] *Elucidatio Terr. Sanct.*, lib. v, cap. 14.

[5] *Journal des Voyages*, vol. i, p. 307; *see* also J. Nicolai (1706), *De Sepulchris Hebræorum*, p. 221.

[6] Jonas Korten's *Reise nach dem weiland Gelobten . . . . Lande*, 2nd ed., 1743. Korte was the first to publish openly a declaration that the sites were not authentic.

and that it must have been inside and not outside the ancient city, since the Jerusalem of Herod covered a much larger area than the modern town. The rejection of the traditional sites led, naturally, to speculation with regard to the true position of Golgotha. Korte, on his plan, drew the *first wall* of Josephus a little north of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, and placed Golgotha on the right bank of the "Valley of Gihon" (Valley of Hinnom), on rising ground to the south-east of the "hohe Brunn" (Birket Mamilla), but gives no reason for his selection of that position. Since Korte's day Golgotha has been located north, south, east, and west of the city, and theorists who have considered the selection of the traditional site to have been a "pious fraud" on the part of Constantine's advisers, have convinced themselves that the localities which accord with their own preconceived ideas are in each case the true scene of the Passion.

The view of Korte was supported with much fulness of argument by Plessing[1] (1789), a Protestant clergyman of Wernigerode. Plessing maintained that, the west being regarded by the Jews as holy and worthy of honour, Christ suffered on the west side of the city, and his plan shows Golgotha on the east side of the Birket Mamilla, with the Holy Sepulchre a few yards to the south of it. Renan considered that Golgotha was north-west of the city; and that it might have been near the north-west angle of the present wall, or one of the heights (*buttes*) which command the Valley of Hinnom above the Birket Mamilla.[2]

Clarke (1812) was able to find nothing in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre that could be "reconciled with the history of our Saviour's burial." He could not believe that "in the construction of a church to commemorate the existence of the tomb she (Helena) would have levelled and cut away not only the Sepulchre itself, but also the whole of Mount Calvary,"[3] and rejected the whole tradition. On his plan three crosses are shown outside the Sion Gate, and referenced, "Now called Mount Sion, perhaps the place of our Saviour's Crucifixion." The tomb of Joseph is assumed to be one of the sepulchres in the Valley of Hinnom on which the inscription "Of the holy Sion" appears.

[1] *Ueber Golgatha und Christi Grab*, Halle, 1789.

[2] *Vie de Jésus*; in the 16th edition he adds: "Il sera loisible aussi de penser au monticule qui domine la 'Grotte de Jérémie.'"

[3] E. D. Clarke, *Travels*, &c., vol. ii, pp. 552–565.

In 1841 the publication of Dr. Robinson's *Biblical Researches in Palestine*, which at once took its place as the standard work on the topography of the Holy Land, drew serious attention to the questions connected with the traditional tomb, especially in Great Britain and the United States. Dr. Robinson rejected the accepted tradition, and his great reputation for accuracy of observation and extensive reading gave peculiar importance to his opinion. After a careful consideration of the whole question with the material then available, he came to the conclusion that from every point of view, topographical, historical, and traditional, the decision must be that "Golgotha and the Tomb shown in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre are not upon the real places of the Crucifixion and Resurrection."[1] Robinson very wisely did not attempt to locate the "holy places." "If it be asked," he writes, "where then are the true sites of Golgotha and the Sepulchre to be sought?—I must reply that probably all search can only be in vain."[2] He does, however, suggest that it may have been on the road to Jaffa, or on that to Damascus.

Robinson's opinion that the traditional site of the tomb was not authentic was accepted by many writers who, less cautious than the learned American, asserted with confidence that they had found the true sites of the Crucifixion and Resurrection. One of the first to publish his views was Otto Thenius[3] (1842), who identified "Jeremiah's Grotto," and the hill above it, sometimes called "Skull Hill," with the Tomb of Christ and Golgotha. The hill is described as being rounded on the north, west, and east, but abrupt on the south, and as having the form of a skull—whence it might be called Golgotha. "The hill is outside and near the town; near a road which must have existed in the time of Christ; and it has in the very place (John xix, 41) a rock-hewn cavern which has an entrance such as the Holy Sepulchre must have had." Thenius believed that the tomb was inside "Jeremiah's Grotto," but had been quarried away with the exception of the actual place upon which the body

[1] *Biblical Researches*, 2nd ed., 1856, vol. i, pp. 407–418. Robinson was answered, not very conclusively, by Newman, "Essay on the Miracles recorded in Ecclesiastical History," in Fleury's *Eccl. Hist.*, Oxon., 1842, and by Williams, *Holy City*, 1845. Much of Robinson's topographical argument is now out of date from the discoveries made since he wrote.

[2] *Loc.*, i, p. 418.

[3] "Golgotham et sanctum Sepulchrum," &c., in *Zeitschrift für die Hist. Theologie*, vol. xii, Pt. 4, pp. 1–31 (1842).

was laid, and that this was preserved in the "couch" of Jeremiah. The knoll above "Jeremiah's Grotto" was also identified with Golgotha by Fisher Howe[1] (1871), whose description of the place may be quoted as representing the imaginative view of the present day:

"The hill is left steeply rounded on its west, north, and east sides, forming the back and sides of the *kranion* or skull.[2] The skull-like front, or face, on the south side is formed by the deep perpendicular cutting and removal of the ledge. To the observer, at a distance, the eyeless socket of the skull would be suggested at once by the yawning cavern, hewn within its face, beneath the hill."

Fisher Howe maintains that the present city wall marks the course of the *second* wall of Josephus; that previous to the construction of the *second* wall the eastern spur (Bezetha) was a continuous ridge; and that the wide open cutting south of "Jeremiah's Grotto" (between A and B on plan) was part of the general plan of fortification connected with that wall.[3]

The same spot, considered permissible by Renan (*see* p. 29, note 2), was selected by Conder[4] (1878) on account of the suitability of its position, and, mainly, on the ground that it was pointed out by Jews at Jerusalem "by the name Beth has-Sekilah, 'the Place of Stoning,'" and, "according to Jewish tradition," was "the ancient place of public execution." Conder identifies the tomb of Joseph with a rock-hewn sepulchre (No. 4 on plan) about 200 yards west of "Jeremiah's Grotto."[5] The view that Christ suffered on the hill above "Jeremiah's Grotto" was widely accepted in this country and in America when it became known that it had received the support of the late General Gordon[6] (1883–4). Since that date

[1] *The True Site of Calvary*, New York, 1871.

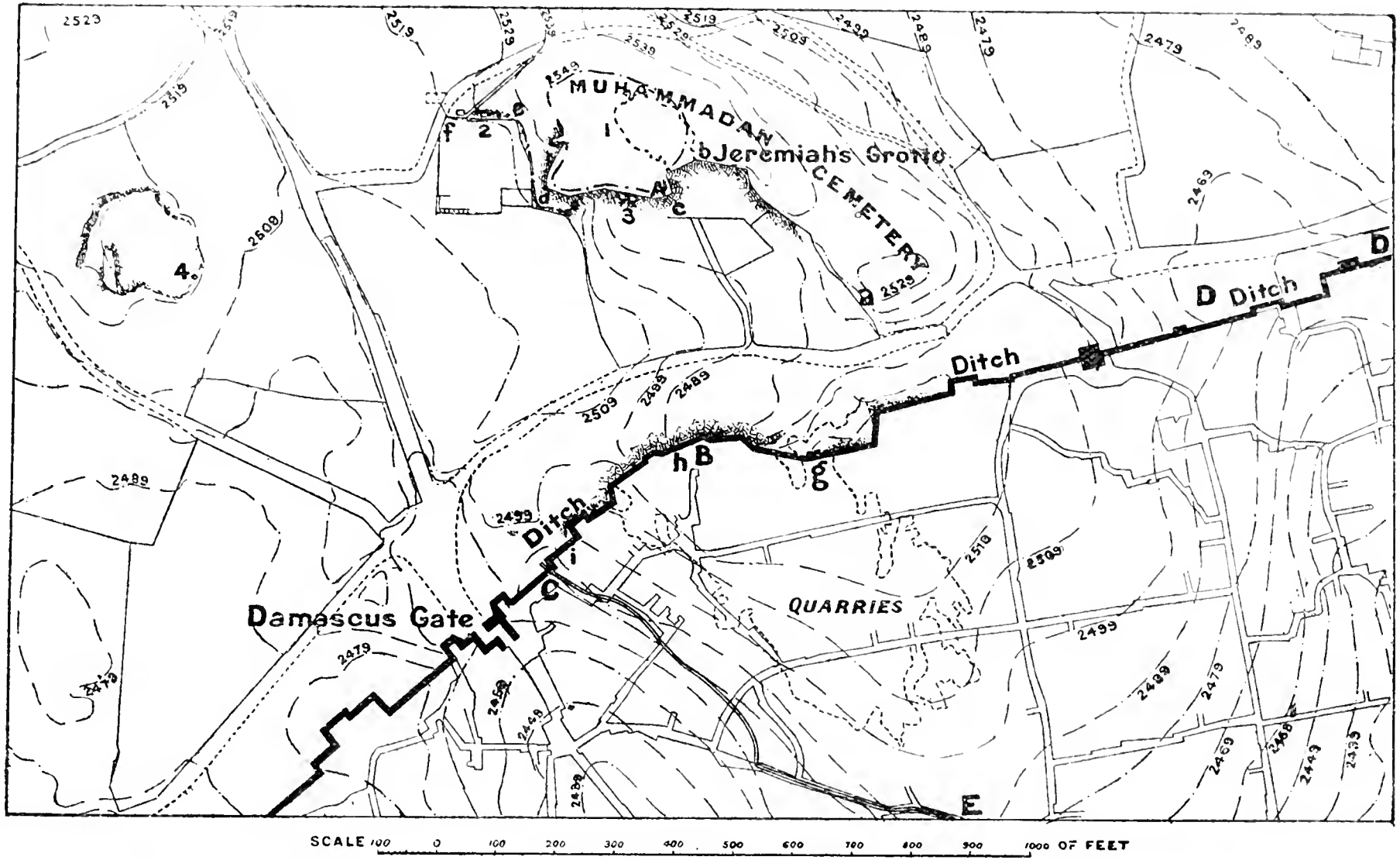
[2] Conder remarks (*Quarterly Statement*, 1881, p. 202), "It is the skull of an animal rather than of a human being, and I should not like to base an argument on so slight a resemblance."

[3] The great width of the cutting and its irregular face on the north side (*a b c d e f* on plan) show that it can only have been connected very remotely, if at all, with the ancient defences of the city.

[4] *Tent Work in Palestine*, i. 372–374 (1878); *Quarterly Statement*, 1881, pp. 200 *sqq.*; *P.E.F. Mem.*, Jerusalem vol., pp. 429 *sqq.* (1884); *Handbook to the Bible*, pp. 355, 356 (1887).

[5] *Quarterly Statement*, 1881, pp. 203–206.

[6] General Gordon's identification is part of his theory that the eastern spur or ridge of Moriah resembled a human figure. His views are fully stated in Appendix I.




PLAN OF GROUND NEAR "JEREMIAH'S GROTTO."


SECTION THROUGH "JEREMIAH'S GROTTO" AND THE QUARRIES.

the identification has been adopted by Dr. Selah Merrill, U.S. Consul at Jerusalem[1] (1885), Sir J. W. Dawson, late Director of the Canadian Geological Survey[2] (1887), and many others; and it has received wide currency from its publication in the Palestine volume of Mr. John Murray's well-known series of handbooks.[3] The hill above "Jeremiah's Grotto" is now frequently referred to as "the Protestant," "the English," or "Gordon's" Calvary, and the tomb, supposed to be that in which the Lord lay, is called "Gordon's Tomb of Christ," or "the Garden Tomb."

No tradition of any kind connects "Skull Hill" or the tomb near it with the Crucifixion or the Resurrection. But the site is one that appeals directly to the eyes of those who from infancy have heard Calvary called a "mount," and to the minds of those to whom tradition is distasteful, especially when it relates to a scriptural site. The arguments urged in favour of the spot may be stated thus:—(1) Its elevation and conspicuous position; (2) its resemblance to a human skull; (3) its proximity to the city and to the great road to the north; (4) the Jewish tradition which identifies it with the "Place of Stoning"; (5) the tradition relating to the martyrdom of Stephen; and (6) the existence of tombs in the vicinity—one of which is described "as recalling very nearly the probable appearance of the new tomb of Joseph."[4]

[1] "The Site of Calvary," in *Andover Rev.*, 1885. Dr. Merrill remarks that, in 1845, Dr. Rufus Anderson pointed out the hill as the site of the true Calvary.

[2] *Egypt and Syria*, pp. 107 *sqq.*, 1887. The views of the knoll and the caves (pp. 105, 106) are rough, inaccurate, and misleading. Sir W. Dawson visited Palestine in 1883-4. *See* also Rider Haggard, *A Winter Pilgrimage in* 1900; and Sir W. Charley, *The Holy City, Athens, and Egypt*, 1902.

[3] *Handbook to Palestine and Syria.* In the latest edition the identification has been abandoned, and a very incorrect plan of the tomb omitted.

[4] Dawson, *l.c.*, p. 108.

(1) It has already been pointed out[1] that "there is no indication in the Bible that Golgotha was skull-like in form, or that Christ was crucified on a hill; that near Jerusalem elevation is not necessary for visibility; that no Greek writer uses the expression "mount" in connection with the spot; and that the skull-like appearance and elevation of Golgotha are apparently fancies introduced from the West.

(2) Resemblance to a skull can hardly be regarded as a serious argument, for it involves the assumption that the appearance of the hill, and of "an artificial cliff produced by ancient quarrying,"[2] has not altered during the last 1,870 years. There are some reasons for believing that, at the time of the Crucifixion, the eastern spur was a continuous ridge; that the quarries were then worked underground; that the wide open cutting south of "Jeremiah's Grotto" (between A and B, *see* plan) had its origin in the ditch of Agrippa's wall, and did not assume its present form and dimensions until the fifth century, when the great church of St. Stephen was built[3]; that after the erection of the church portions of the quarry were used as a cemetery; and that some of the excavation is as late as the time of the Crusades. In the first century the eastern spur was at this point a rocky ridge of some width (*see* Plate[4]) covered with stony detritus which is still visible, and its essential features appear to have remained unchanged until the period of the Crusades. Daniel[5] (1106–7) calls it "a flat rocky mountain." The knoll, which is supposed to give a skull-like form to the hill, is due to the ruined tombs and accumulations[6] of a Moslem cemetery which dates from the fourteenth or fifteenth century. The view that any portion of the very hard limestone beds above "Jeremiah's Grotto" could have been worn into a rounded or skull-like form by the action of wind and weather is untenable.[7]

[1] *Quarterly Statement*, 1902, p. 147.

[2] Dawson, *t.c.*, p. 107.

[3] The date of the open cutting and the general appearance of the ground near "Jeremiah's Grotto" at the time of the Crucifixion are discussed in an Appendix, for which there is no room here.

[4] Reduced from an Ordnance Survey photograph taken in 1865.

[5] Abbot Daniel, ch. ix, *P.P.T.S.*

[6] Macalister gives the depth of soil as 10 feet (*Quarterly Statement*, 1902, p. 129).

[7] *Ibid.*, 1902, p. 151.

(3) In considering proximity to the city and the road, it must be remembered that the *second* wall of Josephus was probably some distance south of the present wall, and that it is by no means certain that the road from the Damascus Gate marks the line of the road to the north in the time of Christ. It is possible that the road then followed the easier slope up the Tyropœon Valley,[1] and ran north-west until it met the road from the Upper City. The existing road between the "Tombs of the Kings" and the Damascus Gate, possibly following an earlier footpath, may only date from the reign of Hadrian. In any case the distance from "Skull Hill" to that road is greater than would be customary[2] in the case of a Roman crucifixion.

(4) There is no evidence that there was a special Jewish place of execution at Jerusalem in the first century, and the existing local tradition which connects "Jeremiah's Grotto" with the "Place of Stoning" is unreliable.[3]

(5) The tradition that St. Stephen suffered martyrdom outside the Damascus Gate may have been based on an earlier one that he was stoned outside the north gate of the city, which would be that of the *second* wall. There is no evidence that he was put to death at a place of public execution.

(6) The rock-hewn tomb supposed to be that of Joseph of Arimathea, and called "Gordon's Tomb of Christ" or "the Garden Tomb," is one of the most insignificant in the great necropolis which surrounds Jerusalem, and does not resemble the class of sepulchre which a man of Joseph's rank and position is likely to have had hewn out for himself. Unlike the Jewish tombs near the city, it is cut in the cliff of a disused quarry, and not in the scarped face of one of the beds of limestone.[4] Some of the details in the tomb[5] are certainly Christian, and there seems every reason to suppose that it belongs to the great cemetery north of the city, of which a portion north of the tomb is owned by the Dominicans, and south of it by the Germans.[6] The extensive cemetery, partly

[1] *See* plan, *Quarterly Statement*, 1902, p. 292.

[2] *Ibid.*, 1902, p. 154. [3] *Ibid.*, 1902, pp. 152–155.

[4] *See* view, *ibid.*, 1903, p. 85.

[5] The only accurate plan and description of this tomb are those by Dr. Schick (*ibid.*, 1892, pp. 121 *sqq.*). A Christian origin is ascribed to the tomb by Selah Merrill (*l.c.*), and by Conder (*Quarterly Statement*, 1892, p. 205).

[6] The coins found in the graves in the German property range from 518 A.D. onwards (*ibid.*, 1902, pp. 403 *sqq.*).

in the quarry and partly beyond it, dates from the erection of the church over the reputed tomb of the first martyr. During the Byzantine period the rock level was probably that of the sill of the door of the tomb, but it was cut down to make room for the *Aedicule* of the Crusaders. The tomb which Conder suggests may have been that of Joseph (No. 4 on plan) is certainly Jewish; but its distance from the assumed site of Calvary on the knoll, 600 feet, is greater than the narrative of John xix. 17, seems to indicate.

Fergusson[1] (1847) maintained chiefly upon architectural grounds that the "Dome of the Rock," in the Haràm esh-Sherif, was the Church of the Resurrection erected by Constantine over the reputed Tomb of Christ. The Tomb he identified with the cave beneath the *Sakhra*, and Golgotha was placed near the Golden Gate. Fergusson urged that the Crucifixion must have taken place near the Temple, which he located in the south-west angle of the Haràm esh-Sherif, since the priests could not otherwise have looked on without incurring risk of ceremonial defilement. The theory, which attracted much attention at the time, was adopted by Langlois[2] (1861), Unger[3] (1863), and a few other writers: but the discovery of the Medeba mosaic, on which the Church of Constantine appears on the site now occupied by the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, has shown that Mr. Fergusson was entirely mistaken in his views.

Munk[4] (1856) considered that it was difficult to draw the *second* wall so as to exclude the traditional sites, and that the tradition relating to the discovery of the Tomb was not beyond criticism. He was of opinion that Golgotha might very well have been on Bezetha, which was, in the time of Christ, outside the walls.

Dr. Barclay[5] (1857) believed that the accepted tradition was unsound: that no engineer could have located the *second* wall of Josephus so as to exclude the Church of the Holy Sepulchre,

[1] *Essay on the Ancient Topography of Jerusalem* (1847); Art. "Jerusalem," Part III. in Smith's *Dict'y. of the Bible* (1863); *The Holy Sepulchre and the Temple* (1865); *The Temples of the Jews* (1878).

[2] *Un chapitre inédit de la question des Lieux-Saints*, 1861.

[3] *Die Bauten Konstantin d. G. am hl. Grabe*, 1863.

[4] "Palestine," in *L'Univers Pittoresque*, 1856.

[5] *The City of the Great King* (1857).

and that Golgotha must have been near the Temple, since the priests who derided Christ would not have left the precincts on that "high day." He places Calvary on the spur between St. Anne's Ravine and the Kidron Valley, outside the present walls, and east of the Church of St. Anne. He supposes that there was, originally, a monticule, or rock, at this place which was destroyed afterwards by Jews or Pagans.

The late Bishop Gobat of Jerusalem (1864–5) held that Christ, the Antitype, must have suffered north of the altar, and placed Golgotha and the Tomb on the same spur as Barclay but north of the present wall and due north of the altar, near the contour 2504 (*see* plan, *Quarterly Statement*, 1902, p. 292). I at one time[1] adopted Dr. Gobat's view under the impression that the hill of Bezetha was covered with houses at the time of the Crucifixion: but a reconsideration of the history of Jerusalem during the first 40 years of the first century has led me to modify my opinion with reference to the occupation of Bezetha and possibility of its having been the scene of the Passion (*see* p. 38). Canon Gill[2] suggests the "Tombs of the Kings" as possibly the sepulchre in which the body of Christ was laid, but the distance from the city and the character of the Tomb seem opposed to this theory.

Keim[3] (1883) considers that a spot near the castle garrison would have been selected for safety's sake, and places Golgotha near the Jaffa Gate. Clos[4] (1898) adopts the traditional Golgotha, but places the Tomb some 200 yards to the south of it.

The general opinion which I have formed with regard to the traditional sites may be thus stated:—There is no decisive reason, historical, traditional, or topographical, for placing Golgotha and the Tomb where they are now shown. At the same time there is no direct evidence that they were not so situated. No objection urged against the sites is of such a convincing nature that it need disturb the minds of those who accept, in all good faith, the authenticity of places which are hallowed by the prayers of countless pilgrims since the days of Constantine.

As regards the true sites I agree with Robinson that "probably all search for them will be in vain." If there be anything in the

[1] Smith's *Dicty. of the Bible*, 2nd ed., Art. "Jerusalem," i.
[2] *Quarterly Statement*, 1901, pp. 293 *sqq*.
[3] *The History of Jesus of Nazara*, vi, p. 131.
[4] *Kreuz und Grab Jesu*, 1898.

idea of type and antitype, and there possibly may be, then Christ must have suffered north of the altar, possibly on the eastern slope of that portion of Mount Moriah known as Bezetha, and perhaps close to the road which led northwards from the Antonia and the Temple precincts.[1] If, on the other hand, there is nothing in the idea of type and antitype, then, always supposing that the Church of the Holy Sepulchre is eventually proved to have been outside the *second* wall, I should be inclined to give more weight to the identification of Macarius and his coadjutors in 327 A.D. than to the guesses or arguments of writers in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

N.B.—It is proposed during the course of this year to publish an enlarged edition of these notes in a separate volume, with additional illustrations and appendices, and discussions of questions such as the course of the *second* wall, the date of the open cutting south of "Jeremiah's Grotto," &c.

## Appendix.

General Gordon's views are contained in a signed article in the *Quarterly Statement* for 1885 (pp. 79 *sqq.*); in *Reflections in Palestine* (pp. vii, 2–17), and in private letters. He maintained that the Temple ought to have been built on the knoll above "Jeremiah's Grotto," which he called "Skull Hill," but that the builders, the Jews, rejected that rock, or stone, and erected the building further south, on the knoll, or rock, within the Harâm esh-Sherîf—that is, at the spot where the Dome of the Rock now stands.[2] Nevertheless, by Divine providence, the stone which was refused or rejected by the builders became the head corner-stone (1 Peter ii, 7)[3] through the crucifixion of Christ upon it (Ephes. ii, 20). The cross was erected on the top, and in the centre of "Skull Hill," and its

[1] *See* plan, *Quarterly Statement*, 1902, p. 292.

[2] Rabbi Schwarz quotes from *Sebbachim*, 54*b*: "It was at first the intention to build the Temple on the En Etam (mount) which overlooks Mount Moriah, but in the end the lower Mount Moriah was selected." The Rabbi, however, identified En Etam with a height west of the city, "which would have been a very proper place for the erection of the Temple, since it overlooks Zion, but, as the Talmud states, there were other important reasons for building it on the lower Mount Moriah" (*Das heilige Land*, p. 228).

[3] "The word is one which denotes two walls, and, meaning the union of Jews and Gentiles, it is called the Head Corner-stone." (Private letter.)

outstretched arms embraced "the whole city, and even the Mount of Olives."[1] The women stood on the subsidiary knoll, south-east of the cross. From an explanatory diagram (Fig. 1), in a private letter, General Gordon appears to have believed that the churches of Constantine were near "Skull Hill." He writes: "I have still a strong opinion that we shall find the Constantine sepulchre[2] is close to St. Stephen's Church, outside the Damascus Gate, where the cisterns are."

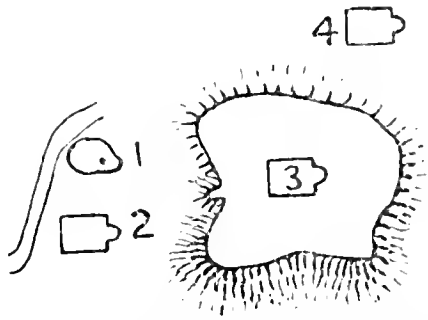



FIG. 1.—"Skull Hill" and Churches.

1. Holy Sepulchre. 2. Church Virgins. 3. Crucifixion. 4. Martyrdom.

General Gordon also held what he calls "a more fanciful view." This was that:—

"The mention of the place of the Skull in each of the four Gospels is a call to attention. . . . . If the skull is mentioned four times one naturally looks for the body, and if you take Warren's or others' contours, with the earth or rubbish removed, showing the natural state of the land, you cannot help seeing that there is a body,[3] that Schick's conduit[4] is the œsophagus, that the quarries[5] are the chest, and if you are venturesome you will carry out the analogy further. . . . . Now the Church of Christ is made up of, or came from, His pleura, the stones of the Temple came from the quarries, from chest of figure, and so on; so that fixed the figure of body to the skull.[6] (*Quarterly Statement*, 1885, pp. 79, 80.)

[1] *Reflections in Pal.*, p. 3, and diagram in *Quarterly Statement*, 1885, p. 80.

[2] Apparently that known as "Gordon's," or the "Garden" tomb (No. 2 on plan, p. 32). General Gordon visited this tomb but makes no direct reference to it.

[3] "Warren's plan of Jerusalem in *The Temple and the Tomb* (p. 33) shows very clearly the human figure, and only wants the skull hill to be considered with it to complete it" (*Reflections in Pal.*, p. vii). The resemblance is not very apparent. [4] C E on plan, p. 32. [5] *See* plan.

[6] General Gordon also held that the Gihon of Gen. ii, 13, had its source in Jeremiah's Grotto. It dried up after the Deluge, but will flow again, as prophesied by Ezekiel (xlvii, 1-6): running at first as a rill through Schick's conduit (C E on plan) and then swelling, it will fill the Kidron Valley and sweeten the Dead Sea. (Private letters.)

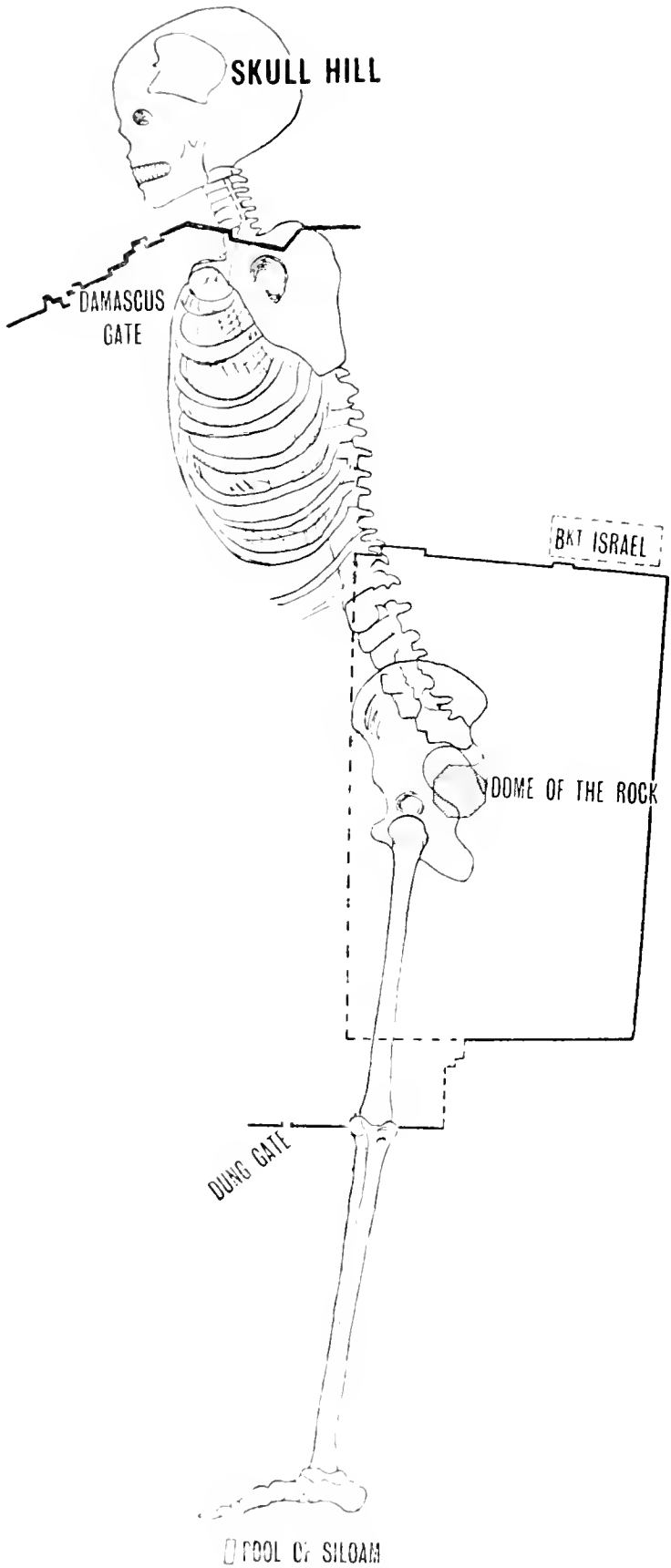



FIG. 2.

(From a Drawing by Major-General C. E. Gordon.)

The idea that the "sacred eastern hill" bore a "rough resemblance to the human form" appears to have been fixed in General Gordon's mind. He "illustrated" it by a curious drawing[1] (Fig. 2), and in his *Reflections* (p. 8) he wrote: "From the Skull Hill, on the north-north-west, the body lies—as did that of the victim—aslant or askew to the altar of burnt sacrifice."

General Gordon's reasons for identifying Golgotha with "Skull Hill" are thus stated:—

"I went to the Skull Hill, and felt convinced that it must be north of the altar. Leviticus i, 11, says that the victims are to be slain on the side of the altar northwards (literally to be slain slantwise or askew on the north of the altar).[2] If a particular direction was given by God about where the types were to be slain, it is a sure deduction that the prototype would be slain in the same position as to the altar; this the Skull Hill fulfils. . . . . The Latin Holy Sepulchre is west of the altar, and, therefore, unless the types are wrong, it should never have been taken as the site." (*Quarterly Statement*, 1885, p. 79.)

The name Golgotha was not derived from any resemblance in relief, or profile, to a human skull, but from the form of the ground as represented by a contour[3] on the Ordnance Survey Plan of Jerusalem on the $\frac{1}{2500}$ scale. In a private letter General Gordon writes with reference to the alleged likeness to a human skull, "Skull with caves for eye sockets, that is all one would get, if one was foolish enough to write. I say it is the contour in a map of 1864." Elsewhere he refers to "Skull Hill" as "an apex of uncovered rock—a rocky knoll resembling in form the human skull"; but there is at present no apex of uncovered rock or rocky knoll (*see* p. 34).

General Gordon's theory involves the view that ground, which for several centuries has been used as a Muhammadan burial place, has not altered since the Crucifixion.

[1] Reduced from a tracing of the original drawing in the possession of the late Dr. Schick.

[2] *See* also *Reflections in Pal.*, p. 3. The interpretation of Lev. i, 11, is erroneous. The words mean that the victim was to be slain north and not north-north-west of the altar. According to Jewish tradition the sin offerings, the burnt offerings, and the trespass offerings in the Temple were slain on the north side of the great altar.

[3] The contour represents, rudely, the side view of a skull, or head, in plan (*see* plan).

# ARCHÆOLOGICAL AND EPIGRAPHIC NOTES ON PALESTINE.

By Professor CLERMONT-GANNEAU, M.I.

25. *Platanos and Platanê.*—Polybius,[1] and later Josephus, independently tell us of a locality in Phœnicia which they call *Platanos* and *Platanê* respectively, whose identity and site no one has yet succeeded in determining; the only hint that results from their data is that it should be found in the neighbourhood of Sidon and to the north of it. In the first place, let us examine the facts of the problem, which, although they have been discussed several times,[2] have not yet received a solution, and let us begin with those which Josephus[3] furnishes. They relate to one of the most tragic episodes in Jewish history. Herod, after he had executed Mariamne his wife, vented his hatred upon his two sons Alexander and Aristobulus. With the approval of Augustus he brought them before a high court of justice, constituted *ad hoc* at Beirût, under the auspices of the Roman authorities of Syria. It was a sinister comedy. Herod himself brought the charge, demanding capital punishment, and the two unfortunate princes were condemned without even being heard. Their father, who had brought them prisoners with him, left them under guard in a village of the Sidonians named Platanê, and near to the city,[4] in case their presence was required. But this was not the case. Immediately after the sentence, Herod, after conveying them to Tyre and Cæsarea, finished by having them strangled in Samaria in 6 A.D.

It follows from this that the village of Platanê belonged to Sidonian territory, and ought probably to be found in the direction of Beirût, consequently north of Sidon, since in the phrase used by Josephus the word πόλις seems rather to refer to the first of these two places. Sidon only figures as an ethnic. We shall now see that the second information, that furnished by Polybius, agrees

[1] I can only recall in passing the mention of our Platanos by Stephen of Byzantium; it is evidently borrowed from the narrative of Polybius.

[2] *See*, among others, Robinson, *Palästina*, iii, pp. 713-715.

[3] *Antiq.*, xvi. 11; *Bell. Jud.*, i, 27.

[4] Ἐν κώμῃ τινι Σιδωνίων . . . Πλατάνῃ καλουμένῃ πλησίον τῆς πόλεως.

with this indication and fixes it with more precision. It is necessary for us now to go back more than two centuries.

The account of the campaign undertaken in 219-218 B.C. by Antiochus III against Ptolemy IV, master of the greater part of Phœnicia, is given in detail by Polybius (v. 68-70). Antiochus, operating both on land and sea, turned first to Marathus (Amrit), where the men of Arados rallied to his cause, having forgotten thanks to his intervention—their ancient differences. Thence he came down south along the coast, having, as the narrative shows, Sidon as his aim. He approached the hostile territory from the side of *Theou Prosôpon* (Râs esh-Shaḳḳa), turning towards Beirût. Proceeding, he seized Botrys (Batrûn), after having burned Kalamos (Ḳalamûn) and Trieres (Enfeh).[1] His generals Nikarchos and Theodotos were sent ahead to occupy the defiles of the River Lykos (Nahr el-Kelb), which empties itself into the Mediterranean a little to the north of Beirût. Polybius does not say, however, that Antiochus took this town; on the other hand, it does not appear to have been in his power already. Perhaps he left it on one side in his hasty march. We see the king, in fact, at the head of his troops and convoyed by his fleet, which, under the command of the admiral Diognêtos, flanked his movements, pushing forward to the banks of the River Damouras (the Tamyras of Strabo), the Nahr ed-Dâmûr, which enters the sea to the south of Beirût, and also marks the northern limit of the Sidonian territory. Having arrived here, he pitched his camp, then taking with him the light troops of Theodotos and Nikarchos, he threw himself forward to reconnoitre the enemy's position. There it was that Nikolaos, the Egyptian commander, master of Sidon, which was his base of operations, and supported by a powerful fleet, awaited Antiochus in order to dispute the passage. Nikolaos had resolved to defend the approaches, thus barring the road to Tyre, which for some little time had been in the hands of Antiochus. Warned of his approach, he had made all his dispositions in advance. He had divided his troops into two bodies: the one occupied the defiles near Platanos (*τὸ κατὰ Πλάτανον στενά*), the other—under his

[1] The localities, owing, perhaps, to the somewhat involved construct, are not enumerated in their proper order, but their identity is beyond doubt. Nevertheless, one is surprised that there is no mention of Tripolis, which Antiochus would necessarily encounter on his route between Marathos and Kalamos.

personal command—the environs of Porphyreôn (*τὰ περὶ Πορφυρεῶνα πόλιν*). In addition, his fleet was assembled close at hand, so as to support his action. Polybius minutely describes the position where Nikolaos was intrenched. Here, he says, the lesser chain of the Lebanon comes close to the seashore, and the space is cut up again by a steep and abrupt crest, leaving only a narrow and difficult passage along the sea front.

Antiochus, having reconnoitred the places, decided to attack on the following day. He left the heavy infantry to guard the camp, under the command of Nikarchos, and divided his troops into three bodies: the first, under Theodotos, being instructed to attack and, if possible, to carry the buttress of Lebanon; the second, under Menedemôs, to attempt the passage by the crest; the third, under Diocles, to operate along the sea front. Antiochus, with his guard, placed himself in the centre, in order to conduct operations and to proceed where needed. The two hostile fleets drew near to the land, and prepared to co-operate in the action. When the signal was given, they engaged all along the line. In spite of the resistance offered by Nikolaos, who had the advantage of the ground, Theodotos, on the extreme left, succeeded in dislodging the enemy entrenched upon the spur of Lebanon, and from this dominating position overwhelmed the Egyptians, who fled with a loss of 2,000 killed and as many wounded. The remains of the Egyptian army reoccupied Sidon, and the fleet, seeing that the day was lost, retired. Antiochus then pursued his march and camped under the walls of Sidon, but, feeling that his forces were insufficient, he did not attempt to besiege it, and pursued his way into the interior in the direction of Lake Tiberias. With his subsequent movements we need not trouble ourselves.

There can scarcely be any doubt but that the Platanos of Polybius and the Platanê of Josephus are the same. The general position and the identity of the names (differing only in the termination) is sufficient proof. We have seen that the Sidonian Platanê ought to lie north of Sidon, by the side of Beirût, and the same conclusion as regards Platanos appears with more clearness in the account of Polybius. It is evident that the strategic position occupied by Nikolaos commanded the approach to Sidon from the north, and covered it against the attack of Antiochus on the banks of the Dâmûr. Accordingly, Platanos (Platanê) must be sought between the mouth of the Nahr Dâmûr and Ṣaida. But the

question can be handled more closely when we view the district in the light of the precise details with which Polybius has furnished us. Nikolaos, as we have seen, had also occupied a second strategic point in the neighbourhood of Porphyreôn, and, as has long been recognised,[1] the place, mentioned also in the Periplus of the pseudo-Scylax and in the Itinerary of the Bordeaux Pilgrim, ought to be placed towards Jiyeh and Khân en-Neby Yûnus, upon the coast to the south of the mouth of the Dâmûr. Leaving this locality, the mountainous range of Kharrûb, or Kharnûb, comes close to the sea, leaving only a very narrow strip, which the road follows to the south in the direction of Sidon, and here and there is cut into buttresses. This pass, bordered on the west by the mountain, on the east by the sea, stretches southwards to the mouth of the Nahr el-'Awali, after which opens the relatively large plain extending to Sidon. This is the pass where Nikolaos took up his position in his attempt to stop the march of Antiochus. He had occupied the northern entrance towards Porphyreôn, and another point which Polybius calls the defiles of Platanos.

Robinson rather vaguely supposes that Platanos was a small fortress commanding this entrance, but there is no name or site in the district which would meet this conjecture. Menke, in his *Bibel atlas*, adopts this view and exaggerates it. He does not hesitate to mark the names *Platanum* (f. iv) and *Platane* (f. v.) at the very mouth of the Dâmûr upon the southern bank—an arbitrary hypothesis which has nothing to justify it. Personally, I believe that Platanos was further from Porphyreôn than is generally supposed, and this seems to follow from a careful reading of the statements of Polybius. Nikolaos had disposed his troops in two bodies, of which one was to occupy the entrance of the pass towards Porphyreôn on the north, the other the outlet at the south towards Platanos. He himself had taken the command of the force which, as it defended the northern entrance, was exposed to the first hostile attack. We have seen how the enemy succeeded in carrying this position and in forcing the passage. This success and the panic that followed among the Egyptians rendered useless the precaution he had taken to guard the outlet of the defile. If this view is just, Platanos must be sought for far from Porphyreôn, towards the mouth of the Nahr el-'Awali.

[1] Pococke, *Description of the East*, II, pp. 89 *sqq.*; Robinson, *l.c.*

This being granted, it only remains to see if we can find in these quarters a locality whose name corresponds to Platanos. But what is this name? Obviously it is no Hellenic transcription of any Semitic name. Πλάταvος is purely Greek, denoting platane, a feminine noun which perhaps explains the hybrid formation Πλατάνη which Josephus may have found in popular use. It can only be, therefore, a translation of one of the Semitic names of the plane-tree. The case is similar with Porphyreôn, which, though Greek, doubtless conceals some Semitic name for purple.[1]

If the required name has been preserved, two hypotheses are possible: either it appears in the Arabic form, *dulb*,[2] which is the present name of the plane-tree, or it is in the form *'armōn*,[3] which is the Hebrew, and probably also the Phœnician, name of this tree. In the latter eventuality, the primitive form may have been more or less altered in accordance with the custom of vulgar Arabic phonetics.

Let us first of all dismiss one specious identification. To the immediate east-south-east of Ṣaida is *'Ain el-Dilb*,[4] "spring of the

[1] Whether Greek or Semitic, the name Porphyreôn appears to have left no trace of its existence where one would expect to find it, unless, perhaps, it is to be recognised in the name *Barjâ*, a small village forming a group along with El-Jiyê and Khân en-Neby Yûnus. It must then be allowed that *Barjâ* is composed of *B* + *rjâ* (*arjâ*): *B*, a contraction of *Beit*, as is common in the Lebanon district, and *rjâ* = *arjâ*, for *arjawân*, ارجوان, "purple," from the Aramaic ארגון (as on the Palmyrene Tariff inscription), *i.e.*, Heb. אַרְגָּמָן, one of the words for "purple" in the Bible. On the connection between ארג and ארגמן, which the Rabbins found (*cf.* Levy, *Neuheb. W.B.*, *s.vv.*), I should add that the name, written برجا in Robinson's lists (iii, p. 945, col. 1), is given as برجة by the Arabian historian Sâleh ben Yahiâ in his *Histoire de Beyrouth et des Émirs Bohtor* (Arab. ed. P. Cheikho, pp. 72, 88).

[2] The vulgar pronunciation is *dilb*, *dilbê*. The word is borrowed from the Aramaic, and should have found a place in Fränkel's *Aram. Fremdwörter in Arabischen*.

[3] ערמון. The original meaning appears to be the denudation, stripping, which characterises this tree; *cf.* Arab. عرم, "to strike a tree of its bark."

[4] The name is wrongly registered under the form *'Ain ed-Dhaheb*, "the well of gold," in the *Map of Palestine* (¾ inch to the mile). The Rev. Ford, director of the American School of Ṣaida, who is well acquainted with the region, has confirmed the view. I would add that I have found *'Ain ed-Dilb* mentioned in an official document of the Sultan Mohammed, son of Ḳelâûn, of the year 1332, cited by Sâleh b. Yahia (*op. cit.*, p. 208): lot ascribed to one of the emirs Bohtor, the sixth of *'Ain ed-Dilb*, dependent upon Ṣaida.

plane tree," which would very well answer the onomastic conditions. Strictly, one could locate there the Platanê of Josephus, but it is impossible if one is to take account of the topographical indications of Polybius respecting Platanos.

On the other hand, the topography of Lebanon often offers us *'Aramûn* or *'Arimun*, which marvellously fits the name but not the site. One would hardly think for one moment of seeking our Platanos either at 'Arâmûn of lower Gharb in the mountains between Beirût and the Dâmûr, or at 'Aramûn of Kesruân near Ghazîr, to the north-east of Beirût. We may rather see that these are homonyms, and a sure indication that this place-name, "The planes," must have been widespread throughout the Lebanon.[1] This, in turn, seems to be confirmed by the comparative frequency of the Arabic equivalent *Dilb*, *Dilbé*, in Syrian nomenclature, and it is all the more reason why, if we do not wish to be misled, we must tenaciously cling to the topographical conditions imposed upon us by the narrative in Polybius.

On referring to the district, I find to the north of Nahr el-'Awali, upon a height commanding the southern extremity of the defile, whose strategic importance we have already seen, a name which merits consideration. It is that which appears in the forms *'Almoun* on the map of Lebanon surveyed by the French staff, *'Almûn* on that of Van de Velde, and *Almûn* on that of the Palestine Exploration Fund.[2] Renan mentions it under the name *Eulmane*. The correct form is *'Eulmûn*[3] as I am assured by Mr. Ford, who has passed a number of years at Ṣaida and is thoroughly acquainted with the country. I may add, moreover, that when I passed through the district in 1886 I received on the spot, and noted in my note-book,

[1] Not to speak of the rest of Syria. *Cf.*, for example, the *Mansio Platanus* between Antioch and Latakia, according to the Antonine itinerary and that of the Bordeaux Pilgrim. The formerly accepted identification of this Platanus with the Balâtunus of Arab historians and geographers enters into the question if, with M. Hartmann (*Z.D.P.V.*, xiv, p. 180) and Van Berchem (*Rech. Archéol. en Syrie*, 1895, p. 27), we place Balâtunus at Ḳal'at el-Mehêlebe, to the east-south-east of Latakia. If Balâtunus is really a transcription of Πλάτανος, it must be another place of the same name.

[2] The spelling العمون given by P. Cheikho in the map accompanying his edition of Sâleh ben Yahiâ (*op. cit.*) is faulty; the initial *'ain* is certain.

[3] *Mission de Phénicie*, p. 506. Moreover, he only speaks from hearsay, and it is not even certain that the archæological data given by him upon the subject would fit this locality alone and not a neighbouring.

a variant form "'Ain 'Oûn," which the natives, rightly or wrongly, claim to be the primitive name. I have observed that whenever a variant of this kind appears in the traditions of the fellahîn, it is generally an indication that the place is an ancient one, even when the pretended name is not in fact the most antique. I did not attach any importance to this at the time, not having had occasion, so far, to interest myself in the problem of Platanos, and I neglected to turn aside to examine the situation of 'Eulmân. This I now regret, and I expressly mention it for future travellers. I am inclined to believe that it is here that our Platanos must be sought. From the point of view of topography the site is entirely suitable. From the point of view of onomatology, علمان is sufficiently close to the name 'Armôn, "plane tree." The change from *-ôn* to *-ân* is common in the passage of names from Hebrew or Phœnician to vulgar Arabic; equally common also is the interchange of the liquids *r* and *l*.

It is interesting to recall that after intervening centuries this very pass, Porphyreôn–Platanos, was the scene of another military feat which, however insignificant it may have been compared with the victory of Antiochus, was a counterpart of it, and clearly shows the strategic importance of the place. In 1283, Hugues III, king of Cyprus, having disembarked at Beirût, proceeded to Tyre to have himself crowned king of Jerusalem.[1] The majority of his troops, who were to join him at Tyre by land, were attacked by the Muslims between Beirût and Sidon, and lost a great number of men and animals. The attack took place "entre Chastelet et flum d'amour en I mauvais pas," says the chronicler of the *Gestes des Chiprois* (p. 215): "in passu Daugiæ prope Sidonem," says Marino Sanuto.[2] The river "d'amour" is no other than the Nahr Dâmûr, and in the *passus Daugiæ* I do not hesitate to recognise, with Rey,[3]

[1] Röhricht, *Gesch. des Königreichs Jerusalem*, p. 986.

[2] Röhricht rightly combines the narratives of the Western chroniclers with that of Makrizî (Quatremère, *Mamlouks*, ii A, p. 63), who places the episode in the neighbourhood of Beirût, near the Gebel el-Kharrûb. Kharrûb is still the name of the district where the various localities are to be found with which we have been dealing; it is the region contained between the Rivers Dâmûr and Aualé, where the Lebanon strikes the Mediterranean and confines the coast so as to leave only the narrow passage which I have several times mentioned. The name Kharrûb comes from the abundance of carob-trees in this region (*cf.* Edrîsi ed. Gildemeister, Arab., p. 16).

[3] *Colonies Franques*, p. 519.

the name Jiyeh, which marks more clearly the site of Porphyreôn and the entrance to the dangerous pass.[1] As for Chastelet, the name is too vague to permit of our fixing the site with precision, but the meaning shows that it should represent some fort or fortlet commanding a certain point in the pass, and situated, in my opinion, more to the south than to the north of El Jiyeh.

## THE IMMOVABLE EAST.

By Philip G. Baldensperger, Esq.

(*Continued from p.* 311.)

(*e*) The money-changer is our old acquaintance the *sarráf*,[2] who with his small table and wire-net-covered box full of coins of all sorts can be seen sitting at a corner of the street on a low chair in the busy thoroughfares of the bigger towns. Change in the Orient is worth more than gold, when you have workers to pay, or must do your own marketing and require small sums. The money-changers often receive from 2 to 4 per cent. for the simple act of giving you silver for your gold; even the shopkeepers retain a few coppers sometimes when changing a pound. There is no consistent rate of exchange, not even between the Turkish silver and gold. The only money which fits into other systems is the mejidi, with its halves and quarters; but 5 mejîdis, though, strictly speaking, equal to 20 piastres, are not reckoned to be the fifth of a pound, which is 100 piastres, nor are 20 silver francs equal to a 20-franc piece in gold. In the towns money is generally called *massiry* (from Egypt), or *flûs* (فلوس). Among the country people *darâhem*, the plural form of *dirhem* (from the Greek *drachma*?), is used: the dirhem is also the $\frac{1}{400}$th part of an *okka* (about 2 lbs. 13 ozs.). Change is called *'umlet* or *ferâṭet*. The base of the present monetary standard is the piastre, called *ghirsh asadi*, "the lion piastre," made up of 40 paras, *bâra*, *ḳaṭ'at*, *faḍ'at*, or *massriyet*. *Faḍ'at* means silver, and the Hebrews similarly used the synonymous *ḳ'seph*—like the French "argent"—for money in general.

[1] The form *Daugiæ* may be explained if we proceed from a primitive form in old French: "le pas *d'Algie*." *Al* being phonetically equivalent to *au*, we obtain naturally: *Daugiae* = *d'augiæ* = *d'algie* = *d'El-Jiyé*.

[2] See *Quarterly Statement*, 1903, p. 168.

Of the various Turkish coins current in the land—not to speak of the shillings, francs, copecs, &c., which are also in use—we may start with the big copper coins, namely, the 5, 10, 20, and 40 paras, which are not worth half that sum, and vary according to the fluctuations of the market, or the caprices of the money-changers. These coins are called *sahalit*. Then there are the thin metal coins, the smallest of which are thinner even than tin, called *'ashāri*: the lowest coin, having been 10 paras, has now also fallen to half its value. These run in pieces of 10, 20, 40, 60, and 80 paras. Further, the *beshlik*, originally 5 piastres, from the Turkish *besh*, five, and the *altlik*, originally 6 piastres, Turkish *alti*, six, called also *zahrawy* or *wazeri*, "Vizier's money."

The third class comprises the silver coins: the silver piastre, which, being so tiny, is also called *barghût*, a flea, and the $\frac{1}{4}$, $\frac{1}{2}$, and 1-*mejidi* pieces, struck in honour of Sultan 'Abdul Mejîd. Golden coins comprise the $\frac{1}{4}$, $\frac{1}{2}$, and 1 pound, *lira othmânly* (*lîra osmanlîyeh*). The foreigner can hardly find his way through all this imbroglio, and he therefore usually counts in his own country's standard by shillings or francs. The money-changers are generally Spanish Jews, who sit patiently beside their tables, and as a kind of advertisement run a dozen mejîdis through their hands in order to attract the attention of passers-by. Such small tables as these must have been in use for hundreds of years. Money-changers are mentioned in Isaiah xlvi, 6, and Jesus threw them out of the Temple (Matt. xxi, 12) where they assembled on feast days, just as they now do. The confusion caused by the many kinds of coin does not stop here, for every town has its own standard currency, known as *sâgh el bundur*, as distinguished from *sâgh el-mîry*, the latter being the Government currency, whilst that for ordinary use is known as the *shark* (*sharak*). A Turkish pound, therefore, may be valued at 216 piastres in Gaza, 143 in Jaffa, 144 in Ramleh, 121 in Jerusalem, and so on, and yet fetch only 96 or 100 piastres at the Treasury. Hence, when a sum is stated, the currency is always added, *sâgh*, from here, and *shark*, from there, and so on. Abraham bought the cave of Machpelah "at 400 shekels of silver, current money (*ke'seph 'ôbêr*) with the merchant" (Gen. xxiii, 16).

The Hebrew term *'ôbêr* would seem to represent a kind of *sâgh*: we meet with it again in 2 Kings xii, 4, where King Jehoash ordered the money for the repairing of the Temple to be paid in "current money." This might also be considered to be some kind of

"entrance fee" (*cf.* the R.V. margin). It is interesting to note that the same verb is used in Arabic when, if the genuineness of a coin is doubted, you are told *bachar* (بعبر), *i.e.*, it "enters, passes, or is current." The coins in current use were sometimes weighed, but it is questionable whether this was always done. Weights are called stones in Prov. xvi, 11, and gold, even if it was current, was called *kîseph*, analogously to the French "argent," silver for money.

Another word (*ḳĕsîtâh*) is used for the money paid by Jacob for the field of Shichem (Gen. xxxiii, 19), and the piece paid to Job after his restoration to wealth (Job xlii, 11). The origin and meaning of the term is doubtful, but it may be mentioned that the Arabic *ḳasaṭa* means to pay (a debt, &c.), in instalments. A sum of 500 piastres was known as a *kîs*, and although this unit no longer exists in currency, still the "purse" is employed in some Government circles. The *kîs*, or bag, was also known to the Israelites, and was used to carry the weights or money. When Naaman the Syrian gave Gehazi two *kikkârs* (talents) of silver, he placed them in a receptacle called *ḥârîṭ*, which was evidently different from the small bag which contained the weights (Deut. xxv, 13; Prov. xvi, 11; Micah vi, 11).

(*y*) The potter (*fâkhûrî*) is always in some out-of-the-way place, among plants and hedges (may we compare 1 Chron. iv, 23?)—the latter are generally huge cactuses. In consequence of the fumes of smoke rising from the pottery he is compelled to keep away from the haunts of man. The potter's clay is called *ḥamar* or *ḥamar el-fakhâr*, but in Hebrew *ḥômer*, as in Isaiah xxix, 16, &c.; at the present day *ḥamrat* is used only of the potsherds. At Jerusalem, Ramleh, and Lydda the earthenware (*fakhâr*) is of a reddish colour; but Gaza makes black articles—often with various red ornamentations, chiefly palm-leaves or circles. The jars, water-jugs, and so forth are carried in large nets made either of palm-tree fibre or of straw, and are thus conveyed upon camels and offered for sale generally in front of the Jaffa gate at Jerusalem.

The jars are of various sizes, and receive various names, and in some cases we may plausibly identify with them the utensils mentioned in the Bible. Thus:—

1. The largest jar is called *zîr*. It is not employed for carrying liquids, but is stowed away in a corner of the house. It has no

handles, and in the Lebanon district chopped meat is stored in it for the winter. We may, perhaps, associate with the *zîr* the Hebrew *sîr*, which was used not exclusively for water, but also as a cauldron to put on the fire (*cf.* Micah iii, 3).

2. Somewhat smaller is the *jarrat*, which is carried by women, or on donkeys. In Egypt it is also called *zalla'at*. It has two handles, and generally holds water.

3. The *'asliat* is smaller and lighter than the above, and is consequently better adapted for women carriers; as the name suggests, it is used for storing honey. It has two handles. This is perhaps the *bakbûk*, which Jeroboam, King of Israel, sent filled with honey to the prophet Ahijah (1 Kings xiv, 3).

4. The *ka'kûr* has only one handle, sometimes none at all (like the *zîr*), and its mouth is proportionately wider than the second and third jars above mentioned. In Egypt it is called *dawûk*. It is mostly employed in Hebron to carry preserved fruit and syrup. It is also called *kaddûs*. A second variety of the *kaddûs* has a wider mouth, and is used at the water-wheel wells, now so rapidly disappearing from the neighbourhood of Jaffa. The Hebrew *kad*, "pitcher," which Gideon and his men carried (Judges vii, 16), answers best to the *kaddûs*, since, apart from the similarity of the names,[1] the *kad* must have had a wide mouth, through which a lamp could be easily passed, and it must have been of convenient size to carry on an expedition. That interesting verse in Ecclesiastes: "Man goeth to his home . . . . before the pitcher (*kad*) be broken at the fountain, or the wheel broken at the cistern" (Eccles. xii, 6), finds an appropriate parallel in the Arabic proverb: "The turning pitcher (in the water-wheel) must (one day) receive a knock" (المقدوس الدايير لابد له على لطمة).

5. A still smaller pitcher is the *mihlaby* (مهلبية), generally used for carrying milk (*halîb*) and sour milk (*labban*) to the market. Oil for home use is also carried in this small pot. It has two handles and a wide mouth. We may perhaps compare the Shunamite's pot (*âsûk*) of oil.

6. The well-known drinking-jugs, *brik* (ابريق), and *sherbet* are the smallest of their kind. The former has two handles and a spout, whilst the latter has neither handles nor spout, and is Syrian

[1] The Arabic term comes ultimately from the Greek κάδος, which *may* have a Semitic derivation. Ed.

rather than Palestinian. The *sharbat* keeps the water cooler on account of its having a stopper in the neck. The *brik* is the kind of utensil usually borne by the *makkis*[1] and others on their journeys. This class of vessel probably corresponds to the *ṣappaḥath*, the name given to the "cruse" carried by King Saul to the waterless region of Judea in his pursuit of David (1 Sam. xxvi, 11; *cf.* also 1 Kings xix, 6).

7. An earthenware pan with two handles is the *ḳadrit*, in which some special dishes are cooked. On account of its low price it is mostly used by the poorer classes, who cannot afford copper pans. Vegetables are generally prepared in this pan. Two proverbs are connected with this utensil: "The pan (being too small) holds one egg less (than it ought to)" —(نقصة القدرة بيض نجاقة). "The ladle will bring out (only) what is in the pan"—(اللي في القدرة بطلعه المغرفة). Of such a kind, perhaps, was the Israelite *pirûr* which was used in the desert for cooking the manna.

Beehives in Palestine are also made of earthenware, and are called قدوس (*ḳaddûs*), although they differ in shape from that referred to above (No. 4). Some are perfect cylinders with a small flying-hole at one end, and are quite open at the other. A conical plate is placed upon it when the bees are in, and is made firm with clay and manure; others are pear-shaped. Another variety consists of a very small cylinder, which is built into the walls surrounding the terraces.

Deep dishes are also made of clay and called *ṣiḥûn*, the same name that is given to the copper plates. Small plain lamps without the ornamentation and inscriptions which have been found upon Hebrew lamps are called *sráj* (plural, *surj*).

Earthenware articles are called by the generic name *fûkhâr*. A general term for any vessel is *ma'ûn* or *ma'ûn*, to which the name of the material may be added, *e.g.*, *ma'ûn fukhâr*, earthenware vessel; or *ma'ûn niḥâs*, copper vessel. Similarly, among the Israelites the general term for any vessel was *kĕli*, which could be more precisely designated by the addition of the material, *e.g.*, vessel (article) of skin (Lev. xiii, 57), of wood (Num. xxxi, 20), of silver (Ezra i, 6), &c.

[1] See *Quarterly Statement*, p. 310.

(.) Water-skins are manufactured only at Hebron. After being slaughtered, animals are blown out by a small incision made in the thigh, and the air introduced between the skin and the flesh; the tissues adhere rather to the body than to the skin, and the hide is then preserved with a little salt, and sold to Hebronites, who scour the country in search of good skins. The skins, of course, must belong to healthy animals, and without the *darran*—a big worm often found in the skin of the living animal, which makes a hole covered over with a slight tissue, thus rendering the skin unfit for use. The larger water-skins are generally full of hair, whilst the smaller ones are clean.

There are several sizes of water-skins (generally called bottles in English translations), each size having a distinct name:—

1. The largest of its kind is the *ṭarf*, made only from skins of he-goats, and, when full, carried by a man called the *saḳkâ*—an indispensable personage in those towns where water is scarce. Butter is also brought to Jerusalem in the *ṭarf* from the south and east, or from Galilee.

2. The well-known *ḳirbat* borne on donkeys by the villagers of Siloam, Lifta, and Maliḥa to Jerusalem. It is the kind carried by all village women.

3. The *sirin* is a smaller pouch easily carried on the shoulder, or hung over the back of shepherds.

4. The *ʿakkat* is the smallest of the kind. It is commonly used on travels to carry a little oil for use in case no guest-houses are met with. The fellaḥin take it with them also when they proceed upon their harvest-journeys.

5. The *mizwal* is employed by the Bedu women to carry sour milk to town, and is used by the owners of herds to churn the butter. It has a larger opening than the others, and is whiter. It is generally home made, and is in consequence not found in commerce. Both the *sirin* and the *ʿakkat* are often also made by the fellaḥin.

As regards the Biblical terms, the Hebrew *ôb*, *nôd* (נאד), *ḥêmeth*, *pak*, may correspond to Nos. 1 to 4 respectively. If the words have changed there is no reason that the articles in question are very different from those in present use, and the character and nature of the articles, and not philology, are our only guide to their identification.

(*aa*) The saddler, *barâdʿy* or *sarâj*, makes the heavy saddles for horses, mules, and donkeys. This saddle, called *bardaʿat*, has little or no leather at all about it. The lower part is a thick felt-cloth (*lubâd*) which serves as a saddle-cloth, and the body of the saddle is made of sackcloth stuffed with straw, and forming two lobes to fit the animal's back. The top part is covered with cloth, and the edges ornamented with tassels, either of cotton, gold, or silver work. The girth, *hezâm* or *shedâdy* ( شداد ), is generally a woven girdle with a ring at the end, which is fixed with a strap to another ring: the buckles are not very much in use, being of European importation. The tail and breast straps are of the same material as the girth; the tail strap passes over the thighs, and is fixed on the croup by another band, so that it does not go too low and thus hinder the movements of the animal. The stirrups (*rekâbat*) are generally of copper, and do not differ very much from European stirrups for this kind of saddle: they are also called *mershahat*. The *sarj* is a saddle not used for donkeys or mules, but exclusively for horses. It is also covered underneath with a thick felt-cloth, but the body of the saddle (saddle-bow, *ḳarbûs*) is wood, and covered with a movable hairy felt-cloth covering also the croup of the horses: this saddle has only the girth without breast or tail strap. The big iron stirrups, on the base of which the entire sole of the foot rests when on horseback, have pointed ends, which are used as spurs. Besides the two riding saddles, there is the pack-saddle (*ḥils*), which is made of sacks or carpets stuffed with straw, and, being made very roughly, is not unnaturally less comfortable for the animals.

The bridles are very strong. The *lijâm* is made of iron with a strong advancing bit, into which a movable ring is fixed, which passes in the mouth and is put below the chin, acting like the curb in the European bridles. The reins (*zimâm*) are either woollen cords or leather, and are thrown over the high and protruding pommel of the saddle, whilst the animals are mostly led by the halter (*rassan*). The headstall of both halter and bridle are woollen, with plenty of tassels along the cheeks and on the front. When the bridle is taken away, the *rassan* is left. The Hebrew *resen* is often translated bridle, but the two are quite distinct. The Arab does not say, "put on the bridle or halter," but "clothe the halter," or, on the contrary, "unclothe" ( الْبِس الرسن and اشلح الرسن ).

The camel pack-saddle is called *rahel*. It is made of two bags of sackcloth packed with long straw and has an opening in the middle for the hump, upon which is fixed a wooden frame, called *ḳattab*, with four sticks protruding horizontally to which the load is bound. The camel is always led by a halter (*rassan*), to which are fixed two small bits of iron with the sharp ends inside, the *ḳarrâṣât*, *i.e.*, pinchers, which cut the cheeks of the camel and keep it tractable.

(*bb*) Tattooing (*washu* and *daḳ*) is generally done by pilgrims from northern Syria during the spring, when the people all flock to some centre. Barbers and gipsies are also experts in tattooing. Tattooing is neither Jerusalem nor Judaean custom. Northern Palestinians and Syrians and the inhabitants of the plain indulge in the habit. Here, too, it seems as though a far echo of the Mosaic law forbidding the practice (Lev. xix. 28) has entered into the customs of the people. Progress has been very slow, and the custom existed amongst the Canaanites. The Moslem descendants of Philistines and Phoenicians have letters or names and sentences of the Koran, with, perhaps, a sword or anchor tattooed. Christian descendants have a bird, a fish, or some monstrous fabulous animal or human body tattooed in blue with a little red ornamentation. Gipsies tattoo themselves all over the body, generally big dots in guirlands and arabesques: the lips and cheeks are usually decorated in blue. In Deir Abân a relic of Christianity still lingers in the shape of a small cross tattooed on the foreheads of women. But in the mountains of Judea and Jerusalem it is almost unknown, although, as an exception, a dot or so on the chin may be seen. A common tattoo is seen on the hand between the thumb and forefinger in the form of a crescent or a cross, according as the man is Moslem or Christian. The shops where tattooing is done are generally only open in winter and spring, and the workers are foreigners—Armenians or Syrians.

(*cc*) The porter, the well-known and useful *'attâl* in Palestine, *shegâl* in Syria, and *ḥammâl* in Egypt, is certainly the strongest man in the East. He will often carry a load of 400 to 600 lbs.—a *ḳanṭâr*—on his back, sometimes for a considerable distance, in places where donkeys or camels would be impossible. These animals, we must remember, are not usually employed in towns; and wheel-barrows and carts are practically unknown, and this in a country where they have been known for thousands of years. From the pre-Israelitish period, at least, in the plains of Philistia,

Sharon, and Jezreel (1 Sam. xiii, 5; Judges v, 28), the *rekeb* of the Philistines were war chariots, but the *'ăgâlah* which the Philistines made for the ark (1 Sam. vi, 7), as well as the *'ăgâlôth* sent by Joseph to bring his father's family and luggage to Egypt, were employed to carry loads. Probably the religious disgust as well as the fear which the war chariots inspired among the mass of the people has survived among the later inhabitants of Palestine so as to wipe away the very name of the vehicles, for the modern name, *karusat* (كروسة), is of Crusading origin, viz., carroccia. In Egypt, however, the name *'ajalat* is still retained.

No European or North African porter is as strong as the Palestinian. He has a thick pack-saddle fixed to his back and a stout cord with copper rings round his waist when at rest. When the load is on his back the cord is dexterously placed crosswise on the load and round the turban on his forehead. The water-carrier (*saḳḳâ*), already alluded to, must also be very strong; some, indeed, are able to carry a second skin. Both the porters and water-carriers belong to the lowest class of people, and, as the saying goes, they are "strong as a mule, but as obstinate and brutal." The Gibeonites, as we remember, were condemned to the most degrading calling of "hewers of wood and water-carriers" (Joshua ix, 21). In enumerating the people in Moab all classes are mentioned, and finally, as pariahs, "the hewers of wood and drawers of water" (Deut. xxix, 11). The *'attâl*, so necessary in the towns where traffic of any kind is going on, was surely a feature of the old Israelitish towns, and probably we may associate the words of the Psalmist: "As an heavy burden, they (my sins) are too heavy for me" (Psalm xxxviii, 4). Nehemiah forbade the Tyrian merchants to bring in their loads on the Sabbath day (Neh. xiii, 19), and Jeremiah also orders men "not to carry any loads through the gates on the Sabbath day" (Jer. xvii, 21).

# BAALBEC.

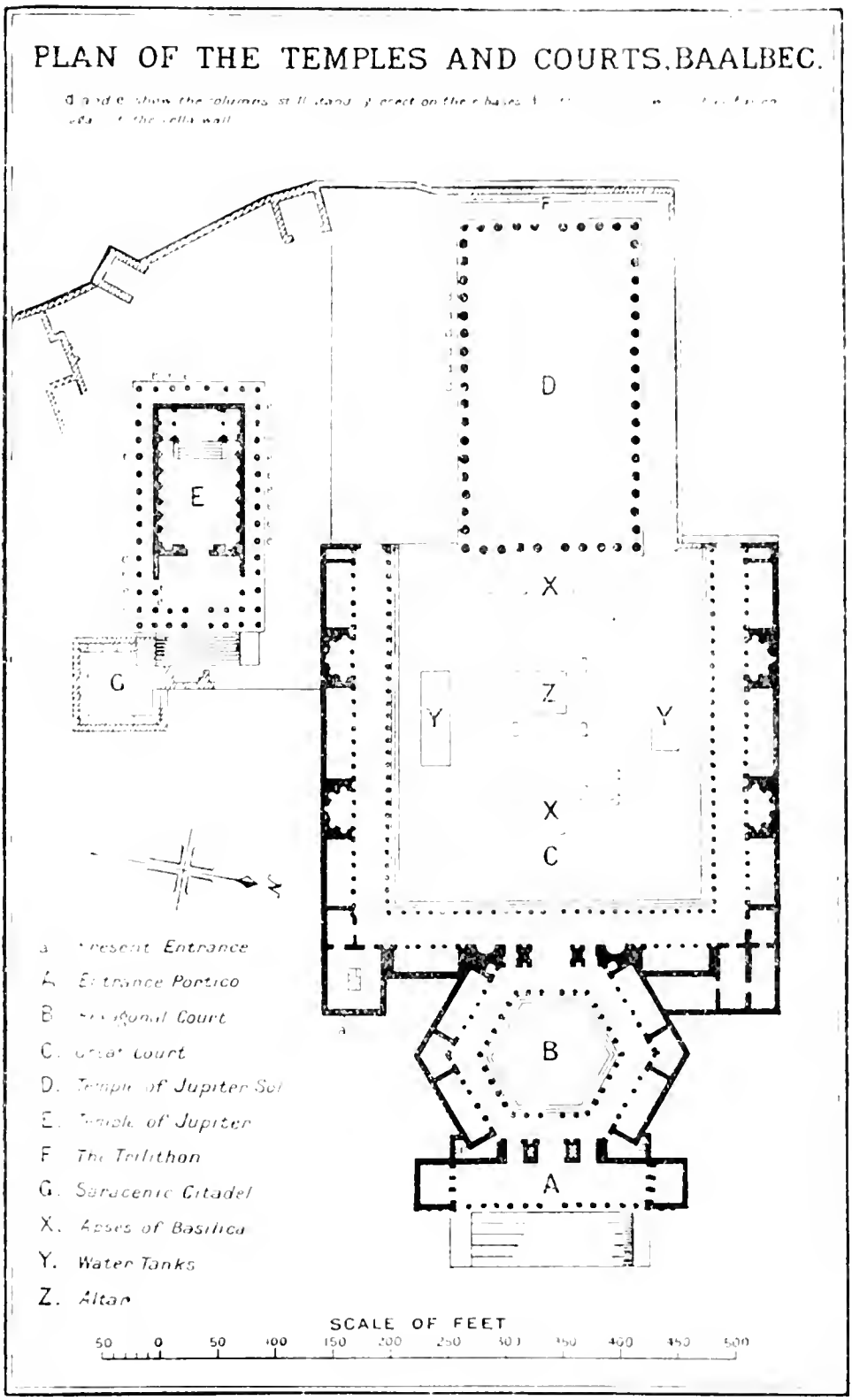
By R. Phené Spiers, F.S.A.

Among the various discoveries made by the Germans at Baalbec during their excavations in 1900–1902, the most important was that of the existence in ancient times of a lofty peristyle which was carried round the hexagonal court and on three sides of the great or altar court, thus bringing into communication by a covered way the great halls and exedræ which surrounded these courts.

This peristyle was carried on a stylobate of three steps, remains of which were found in both courts, and although both columns and bases had long ago disappeared, the traces of the latter were still visible on the upper step, so that their position with reference to the screen of columns in front of the various halls and the pilaster responds between them were thus clearly defined. The dimensions of the base prints agreed with those of the responds, so that the height of the columns was probably the same.

The plan published herewith, originally set out according to that made by M. Joyan (Grand-Prix de Rome) in 1865, with various additions taken from the German plan, presents altogether in its completeness a very different aspect from that published by Wood in 1750, to whom, however, must be given the credit of having made one of the most marvellous surveys ever executed, so that after a century and a half it is still the principal standard work on the subject. Cassas' work, published after his death, was only completed by loans from Wood's engravings, loans which were not acknowledged by his editors, and have only become of late recognisable from the fact that in certain cases the same errors are found in both.

The discovery of the existence of this peristyle suggests an inquiry into the possible destination of the halls and exedræ thus brought into communication one with the other. By analogy with the hemicycles of the Roman Thermæ, which were the halls of declamation, where poets and orators recited their compositions or delivered their addresses, so here in Baalbec the vaulted exedræ facing the great court may have been the halls in which the priests




From *Murray's Guide to Syria and Palestine.*

of Baal held forth in their discourses to the pilgrims who visited the shrine of their god, and brought those gifts and offerings which were quite as necessary for the support of the Pagan priests as they are now to our Christian clergy. Equally by analogy with the porticoes of the Greek shrines in Athens and at Delphi, Delos, and Epidaurus which offered an asylum or resting-place to the great body of pilgrims, who in some cases came long distances to assist in the worship of their gods, so here at Baalbec, in the rectangular halls were lodged the visitors to the shrine of Baal. At first sight the richly decorated halls seem to be of too palatial a character for such a destination, but those in Greece were all built in marble, and probably in many cases were decorated with paintings, so that they possessed the same magnificent aspect. The vaulted chambers under the great halls and the vaulted corridors under the peristyle, which were lighted through small apertures in the stylobate, served to hold the treasures of the god and the stores of provisions which would be required by the priests, and for the maintenance of the pilgrims during their sojourn there. There was also at the west end and on the east side of the hexagonal court a great open court enclosed by a wall not indicated on the plan, but the existence of which is shown by the projecting bond-stones on the rear wall of the entrance portico, and on the north-east and south-east angles of the block containing the halls round the great court, and is shown on the German plan. Here might be stalled the camels belonging to the priests or brought by the pilgrims. These theories, however, are purely speculative, put forward in the hope that someone may give other opinions respecting the destination of the various halls and vaults.

Although, according to Dr. Bliss, all the remains of the great temple were exposed and brought to light by the Germans in 1901, when all the work relative to it was then practically accomplished, so far no conjectural reconstruction has been yet published or any evidence as to the possibility of its never having been completed. Colonel Conder's statement (*Syrian Stone Lore*, p. 89, ed. 1896) that the great temple of Baalbec was a large quadrangle with a single row of pillars on each side, and without either roof, outer walls, or inner colonnades, is not borne out by the existing remains. Had the six columns remaining *in situ* of the south peristyle constituted the sole enclosure on that side, the entablature would have had the same profile of cornice on each side, but on the inner side,

facing north, its upper part is not carved but left unfinished, with sinkings to carry the stone slabs covering the peristyle in the same way as in that of the Temple of Jupiter. The walls of the acropolis, converted into a fortress by the Moslems in the thirteenth century, would quite account for the entire disappearance of all the masonry of the walls of the *cella*, on the supposition that the stones employed were not greater than those of the Temple of Jupiter.

*The Great Altar.*—The altar discovered by the Germans under the floor of the basilica was not a part of the solid rock, as was first supposed, owing to its megalithic appearance. It was built in stone from the quarries which supplied the trilithon, and all the material for the acropolis buildings and its foundation walls are shown in the German drawings as carried down some 25 feet, which would be about 25 feet above the solid rock. The foundations of the north side of the platform of the great temple are carried down to the rock itself, about 50 feet below the pavement of the great court.

The excavations and the clearing away of the accumulations in the great court brought to light two large *piscina* or lustration basins (Y Y on plan). Portion of the south basin has been built over, otherwise both are easily recognisable, and portions of the marble enclosures (about 2 feet 6 inches in height) have been recovered. These enclosures or parapets are decorated externally with miniature niches or recesses, ornamented with decorative reliefs representing conventional foliage with heads, sea-horses, sea-griffins, and garlands supported by cupids or bulls' heads. Outside the enclosure and at its foot was a stone water channel which ran round the basin.

*The Great Basilica.*—The plan of the Christian basilica, now cleared down to the floor, has revealed a design the nature of which would seem to be much later than was at first supposed. It has also brought to light the foundations of another apse at the east, and in which may be traced the evidence of a ritual change. According to the German discoveries, the nave of the church was separated from the aisles on either side by three great arches carried on piers, similar in design to the churches of Ruweihah and Kalb Louzy, which are referred to by De Vogüé, in his book *La Syrie Centrale*, as belonging to the sixth century. This cannot, therefore, be the church built by Theodosius (379–395 A.D.), but there is no reason why the three western apses may not have been part

of his church, especially as, in imitation of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, the earlier apses were invariably placed at the west end. All the churches built in Syria and elsewhere in the fourth and fifth centuries had their naves separated from the aisles by columns supporting an entablature in the earlier buildings, as in Constantine's Church at Bethlehem, and later in carrying small arches.

With the large number of available columns to be found in the peristyle, the nave of Theodosius's church may have been separated from the aisles by two rows of columns carrying an entablature, and curiously enough the height of the columns of the peristyle with its entablature is the same as that of the aisle walls as suggested in the German drawings. It was, therefore, simply a question of removing stone by stone the peristyle and re-erecting it on the raised basilica platform. This basilica may have been destroyed by earthquake or fire, and when in the sixth century it was rebuilt, the architects adopted the new principle of wide arches on piers, which had this great advantage, that the altar could be better seen from the aisles. When rebuilding the church they opened out the east wall and built an eastern apse;[1] they also cut through the central apse at the west end, and built the principal entrance doorway there. The object of having three doorways in each of the aisle walls is not clear, because their sills were 7 feet 6 inches above the pavement of the court, and to enter them there must have been flights of steps to each, none of which have been traced. The outer walls of the basilica rise some 9 feet above the pavement of the church, and two of the piers carrying the arches were 18 feet above the pavement and still preserve their impost mouldings, which enabled the Germans to calculate the full height of the nave walls, restoring them in accordance with those still existing at Ruweihah and Kalb Louzy. At the west end portions of the apses rise 24 feet above the basilica paving.

Perhaps the most extraordinary fact in connection with this basilica is that its pavement was raised 7 feet 6 inches above the level of the great court, sufficient to cover over and preserve intact at all events the lower portion of the stone altar with the steps leading up to it on the east side. The Germans consider that which remains to be the platform on which the altar stood, and the priests,

[1] This apse would also be of value in resisting the thrust of the great arches of the nave, which at Ruweihah and Kalb Louzy is done by the walls of entrance porticoes.

ascending the steps, performed the sacrifices on the altar facing the east end of the temple.

The difference of level between the floor of the basilica and the pavement of the great court, 7 feet 6 inches, required an important flight of steps to ascend from one to the other, and this was provided at the east end, where a broad flight of ten steps led to a raised platform the whole width of the front of the basilica, so as to give access to the principal entrance to the nave and to two smaller doorways leading into the north and south aisles respectively. On this platform was built at a later date the eastern apse, the steps being left on each side to give access to the two side doors. An approach to the higher level, so as to enter through the central doorway formed in centre of the apse, was probably given on the south side by the lower ten steps of the original flight leading to the great temple, which are still preserved; on the north side those steps had already been covered over by an additional chapel on that side.

*Baptistery or Bath.*—On the south side of the basilica and across its central axis the Germans discovered the foundation walls of a court with a covered passage round it, in the midst of which was an immense bath. This they suggest was either a swimming bath or a baptistery. Though the first destination seems out of place as attached to a basilica, the Germans say that such a feature is in accordance with a custom attested in ancient times. These walls are not shown on their section showing the existing condition of the site, so that there is no record as to their level. Moreover, they draw the Roman lustrate basin as complete with its enclosure parapet. Between the top of this parapet and the foundations of the court, as shown on Joyau's plan, there would only be an available depth of about 3 feet, which would not be of much use as a swimming bath. Regarding its designation as a baptistery, curiously enough the doorway leading to it from the south aisle is blocked up with masonry, indicated on plan as Christian work; and a doorway at the north-east angle leads to the court, so that it does not seem to have been in direct communication with the basilica. This water tank, however, has been utilised by the Moslems at a later period, and there is an inclined passage leading from the lower court, where the Temple of Jupiter is situated, to the west side of the court surrounding it. The Germans say that the covered passage round this tank was vaulted, and they suggest the same on

their plan, but nothing is said as regards the evidence of the materials for a construction of this vault. For further details we must wait for the complete description of the results of their survey.

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## ON A PRINCIPAL CAUSE OF THE SALTNESS OF THE DEAD SEA.

By WILLIAM ACKROYD, F.I.C., F.C.S., &c., Public Analyst for Halifax.

THE saltness of the Dead Sea has been ascribed to two causes:—(1) The accumulation of chlorides derived from the rocks of the Holy Land by solvent denudation, and (2) the cutting off of an arm of the Red Sea by the rising of Palestine in past ages,[1] with, in each case, the subsequent concentration of the solution by evaporation. There is a third cause, which is probably more important than either, viz., the atmospheric transportation of salt from the Mediterranean. The circulation of salt is a reality which must be taken into account. Brought from the sea by winds and falling in the rain, the salt is carried back to the sea by rivers, except in cases of inland lakes without outlet, where the saline solution remains for evaporation, and I have shown that in the case of an inland Pennine reservoir such a cause would produce a water as salt as that of the Dead Sea in a fraction of the time usually assigned to the Pleistocene Age.[2]

For the purpose of the present paper analyses of rainwater from the Holy Land are wanting; as, however, they are not at present available, I assume that the rain, like that of other lands,[3] is charged with salt to a degree which varies in a direct manner with the velocity of the winds coming from the sea; it then only remains to show that the rocks are not abnormally salt bearing.

I have had forwarded to me by the Palestine Exploration Fund specimens of the rocks on which Jerusalem is built as samples of

[1] Hull, *The Phys. Geol. of Arabia Petræa and Palestine*, pp. 119 and 120.

[2] *Geol. Mag.*, October, 1901, p. 446; also compare J. G. Goodchild, *Trans. Geol. Soc. of Glasgow*, vol. xi, Part I, p. 84 (1898).

[3] *Proceedings of the Yorks. Geol. and Polytechnic Soc.*, vol. xiv, Part III, pp. 403–408.

Palestine rocks. They are limestones of various compositions, and the amount of common salt, calculated from the chlorine I have found in them, is given in the following table:

| Description of Limestone. | Per cent. of Chlorine. | Calculated per cent. of Common Salt. |
|---|---|---|
| 1. Kakule .. .. .. | 0·025 | 0·041 |
| 2. Nahre .. .. .. .. | 0·001 | 0·002 |
| 3. Meleke .. .. .. | 0·006 | 0·010 |
| 4. Misse (yehudi) .. .. | 0·005 | 0·008 |
| 5. Misse (helu) .. .. .. | 0·0015 | 0·002 |
| 6. Misse (achmar) .. .. | 0·001 | 0·002 |
| Average .. .. | | 0·01 |

The salt contained in these rocks, except in the case of Kakule limestone, is no greater in amount than that found in the limestones of other lands, which similarly approximate to a general average of 0·01 per cent. of chlorine. This amount of chlorine would be quite inadequate to account for the salt in the Dead Sea. By a technical argument, based on the amount of chlorine in a rock and its rate of denudation, I have shown[1] that the salt yielded to rivers from this source is not a ninety-ninth of that which has been supplied by rain-water. Nor would the saltness of the Dead Sea be fully accounted for if a marine area had been cut off during the rising of the land, as the initial saltness thus acquired would only be about a fourth of that subsequently attained to, and moreover in this condition of saturation it has been for an unknown length of time continuously precipitating its excess of salt. Hull observes[2]:—"The increase of saltness in the waters of the Dead Sea has probably been very slow, and dates back from its earliest condition when its waters stretched for a distance of about 200 miles from north to south. While the uprising of the land and the sinking down of the Jordan Arabah depression were in progress during the Miocene period, some of the waters of the outer ocean, themselves salt, were probably enclosed and retained; but from the

[1] *Chemical News*, vol. lxxxiii. p. 301, and *Geol. Mag.*, October, 1901, p. 447.
[2] *Op. cit.*, p. 120.

occurrence of the shells in the marls in the Arabah Valley, it would appear that when the waters of the great inland lake were at their maximum elevation, they were sufficiently fresh to allow of the presence of molluscous life. This would be during the Pluvial epoch, but at the stage represented by the salt beds of Jebel Usdum, the waters, which were then 600 feet higher than at present, must have been saturated with chloride of sodium." One may add that the intensity of meteorological conditions in the past geological history of Palestine have been much more severe than those now obtaining,[1] and the atmospheric transportation of salt would be correspondingly greater. Some of the salt then accumulated has been left by the dwindling waters of the Dead Sea in areas to the north and south, notably in Jebel Usdum, and the highly brackish rivulets which come from these neighbourhoods now are but contributing again what long ago came from more distant sources.

I find confirmation of the theory in the fact that the ratio of the chlorine to the bromine in the waters of the Dead Sea is approximately the same as that for these two elements in the Mediterranean Sea.[2]

In conclusion, I have to offer my best thanks to Mr. Walter Morrison, J.P., of Malham, and Mr. George Armstrong for the privilege of having been enabled to examine the rocks from Palestine which are mentioned in this paper.

[1] Tristram *The Land of Israel*, p. 320.

[2] *Proceedings of the Yorks. Geol. and Polytechnic Soc.*, vol. xiv, Part III, p. 108 (1902).

# DESCRIPTION OF FOUR SAMARITAN MANUSCRIPTS BELONGING TO THE PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND.

By A. E. Cowley, M.A., Sub-Librarian of the Bodleian Library, Oxford.

Manuscript 1.—Fol. 1*b* (a fly-leaf attached to the board). A late hymn for מיועד השמיני (the eighth day of the feast of tabernacles), by Ibrâhîm ed-Danfî, dated at the end [1]264 (A.D. 1848). The heading describes it as بيت مفرد نغم مواسم, "a separate hymn (to be sung to the) pilgrimage melody." The pilgrimage is the ascent of Mount Garizim, which is made on the first and eighth days of tabernacles, and for which there is a special service.

Fol. 2*a*.—A similar hymn "by the father of the copyist," who signs himself at the foot 'Imrân ben Salâmah ben Ghazâl ben Isḥâq hak-kohen hal-levi b' Shekhem, with the date 1264.

Fol. 2*b*.—The beginning of the service for the pilgrimage of tabernacles, supplied by a late hand, very badly written. The page will serve as a specimen of the way in which most of the services begin, with variations according to the occasion :-

צלות מיועד חג הסכות : אלקטף שבת ושביע ברית וזכ[רון]
ותרומה ויוסף ועץ ופרי וסכות : שריו הצלות בריך אלה[נו]
ועל פתח רחמיך וכי בשם וקצי הבריה ועל ויטע דראן מיד
לית אלה אלא אחד ומרקה עבודה דע[למה] ואתהו אלהינו :
וישתבח :

הילה דבחר אדם .
ו[ב]חר מן זר[עו] ישראל .
ואפרש לון שבתות ומיוע[דים] .
מנון זה שבת מיו[עד] חג ה[סכות] .

מכל הברוים :
סגולי הע[מים] והגוים :
קדשיון גלוים :
דאת[פרש] על יד א[יש]
ה[אלהים] :

הו מישה נביה דעלמיה :
ו[ק]טף כל נשמיה :
דביאר בכתבו הרמיה :
ויטע יהוה אלהים :
جوابة عن المقطعين

ויצמיח יהוה אלהים מן האדמה . . .

This may be translated: "Service of the feast of the pilgrimage of tabernacles: the Qaṭaf is Sabbath, seventh, covenant, memorial, offering, Joseph, tree, fruit, and tabernacles. The beginning of the service is 'Blessed be our God' and 'At the door of Thy mercy,' and 'For in the name' and the sections of the creation. Before 'And he planted' (is to be said) the section of the Durrân 'Since there is no god but God,' and Marqah's 'Maker of the World,' and 'Thou art our God,' and this song of praise:

"(Praised be) the Almighty who chose Adam from among all creatures, and from his seed chose Israel, elect of peoples and nations, and set apart to them Sabbaths and festivals whose holiness is made manifest. Among them is this Sabbath of the festival of the pilgrimage of tabernacles, which was set apart by the hand of the Man of God. He is Moses, the prophet of the world, the choicest of all living things, who set forth in his glorious scripture, 'And the Lord God planted.'"

Then the readers of the Qaṭaf answer—

"And the Lord God made to spring forth from the ground . . . ."

The Qaṭaf is a "selection" of passages of the Pentateuch relating to a particular subject, *see* further in *Jewish Quarterly Review*, vii, 129.

Fol. 3 continues the service. Here begins the main hand.

Fol. 44.—"Service for the night of the festival of the eighth, the conclusion, which is the last of the festivals." A note at the foot of the page provides that "when this falls on a Sabbath, the prayers are not said in the synagogue, but they say at home the prayers of the ordinary Sabbath night."

Fol. 44*b*.—"Service of the eighth day, the conclusion, morning, at Shechem."

At the end is "a prayer of our Lord, the Master, Abisha," beginning אתפלל קמיך אה אדני, with an Arabic translation in Samaritan characters. It is alphabetical and has for its refrain תשבחתה לך אה אדני בעין רחמיך לנו פני.

From fol. 3 to fol. 106*b* the text is all by one hand. It is dated on fol. 43*b*, the 24th of Rebî' I, 1148 (= A.D. 1735), on fol. 100, the 14th of Rebî' II, in the same year. As this colophon is typical and rather difficult to read, it may be given here in full:—

تم ذلك بحمد الله تعالى ولطفه وحسن توفيقه فى عصرية
نهار الاربعه المبارك رابع عشر شهر ربيع الاخر من شهور سنة الف
وماية وثمانية واربعين عربية الموافق الى ٢٢ شهر اب (?) الرومى
وهو حدش هششى (?) على يد افقر عباد الله تعالى واحقرهم عبده
مرجان ابن ابرهيم الدنفى السامرى غفر الله تعالى له ولوالديه ولجميع
قهل يشرال هسجوديم لبرجريزيم بيت ال امن امن بعمل
هذبى هذامن امن

"Finished, to the glory of God most high, by His grace and the favour of His help, in the course of Wednesday, the 14th of the month Rebî' II, in the year 1148, Arabic era, corresponding to the 22nd of Ab (*b* of the Christians, which is the sixth (*b*) month, by the poorest of God's servants, and the meanest of them, the servant Marjân b. Ibrahîm, the Danfi, the Samaritan, God pardon him and his parents and all the congregation of Israel who worship toward Mount Garizim, the house of God, Amen, Amen, for the sake of the prophet, the faithful, Amen."

Fol. 106*b*.—A similar colophon, written by Marjân b. Ibrahîm b. Ismâ'îl, on the 17th of Jumâda II, 1149 A.H.

Fol. 107. Headed: شبرد حمى اتى بشلم يوم هكفور على وزن ביודאה לאלהינו . . . *i.e.*, a hymn on [the theme of] "Welcome day of Atonement," to the melody of "Praise to our God." It begins ביודאה לאלה קיומיה. It is by Muslim b. Marjân (*i.e.*, the son of the last named), and is dated at the end, 28th of Rebî' I, 1152 A.H. (A.D. 1739). The father and son write very much alike.

Fol. 108. A דכור (hymn of remembrance) for the festival of the eighth day, by Shalmah the priest, beginning אשבה שם יהוה המיתקדיש בקדישו, with acrostic אני שלמיה. One verse has a note אגבא, showing that it was composed by the scribe, who is apparently the same as that of the next piece.

Fol. 109.—A similar hymn, by Ishâq b. Shalmah (*i.e.*, the son of the last named), beg. יום השמיני הזה גלגיו מי מיני. It was written by the author, very carelessly. At the end (fol. 110) is part of a colophon, with the date 1244 (A.D. 1828), followed by six lines in the same hand, beginning אהיה אשר אהיה אה אלהי ואדני.

The MS. is on oriental paper, with watermark two crescents: sm. 4 (8 inches by 6 inches): the first quire is of 12 leaves, beginning with fol. 2 supplied; from fol. 14 to fol. 103, quires of 10, numbered יא to צט (91–99); fol. 101 begins a quire of six, numbered ק (100). At the beginning and end a fly-leaf is pasted down to the cover, and contains writing. Including these, the total number of leaves is 110.

On the cover (original native leather binding) is written:—

شبت حج هسكوت ويوم هشمينى

*i.e.*, "Sabbath of the feast of tabernacles and the eighth day.

MANUSCRIPT 2.—Contains the services for the Sabbaths between Passover and Pentecost.

Fol. 1*b*.—Headed: עלות שבתות השבעות: השבת הראש: בו[א]מנות השבתות . . . "Prayers for the Sabbaths of Pentecost: first Sabbath: as for (ordinary) Sabbaths," with the variations given afterwards.

Fol. 9.—עלות לילת חדה מצוק השבת הזוכיר, "Prayers for the eve of Sunday following the said Sabbath."

Fol. 14*b*. "Prayers for the second Sabbath, as for the first," with some variations.

Fol. 17*b*. "Prayers for the second Sabbath, afternoon, as for ordinary Sabbaths," with variations.

Fol. 20.—A note that "the prayers for the eve of Sunday following the said Sabbath are the same as for other eves of Sundays in Pentecost (ليلى حدود الخماسين), except when the (beginning of the) second month falls on the said eve," in which case there are certain modifications.

"Prayers for the third Sabbath, morning, as before," with variations.

Fol. 22.—"Prayers for the third Sabbath, afternoon, as before," with variations.

Fol. 24. "Prayers for the eve of Sunday, following the said Sabbath, and for the eve of the second Passover, the same order for both" with variations.

Fol. 26. "Prayers for the fourth Sabbath, like the other Sabbaths in Pentecost," with variations.

Fol. 29*b*.—"Prayers for the fourth Sabbath, afternoon, as for the previous Sabbaths," with variations.

Fol. 31*b*.—"Prayers for the eve of Sunday, following the said Sabbath," mostly as before.

Fol. 32. "Prayers for the fifth Sabbath, morning," as before, with variations.

Fol. 34*b*.—"Prayers for the fifth Sabbath, afternoon," as before, with variations.

Fol. 37. "Prayers for the sixth Sabbath, morning, being the Sabbath of Amalek, as for the preceding Sabbaths," with variations. The six Sabbaths are regarded as following the course of the journey in the wilderness, and are called by the names of the several events which marked it. Thus, No. 1 is שבת הים, the Sabbath of the sea (Exod. xiv); No. 2, מרה (Exod. xv, 23); No. 3, אילים (*ib.* 27); No. 4, המן (Exod. xvi, 15); No. 5, הצור (Exod. xvii, 6); No. 6, עמלק (*ib.* 8). The seventh Sabbath commemorates the giving of the law on Mount Sinai, as with the modern Jews, but the idea of a feast of harvest is also comprised in it. The lessons, or readings of the law, for these Sabbaths have no relation to the events commemorated (see *Jewish Quarterly Review*, vii, pp. 134 *sqq.*). It is regarded as the function of the liturgy to bring out the special points.

Fol. 50. "Prayers for the said Sabbath, afternoon; as for the [other] Sabbaths," with variations.

Fol. 52. "Additions to the Qaṭaf for the eve of Sunday following the said Sabbath."

Fol. 54. "Variations in the Qaṭaf for the eve of Monday [following]."

Fol. 54*b*. "Additions to the Qaṭaf for the eve of Tuesday [following]."

At the end, short directions for the eve of the third month, when it falls either before or on the Sabbath of Amalek.

The main part of the volume, according to a statement made twice on fol. 1, was written by Jacob b. Aaron b. Shalmah, the priest, who began it on the 2nd of Sha'bân, 1286 (= A.D. 1869). On fol. 8*b* is a note that he had got so far on Sha'bân the 7th. On fol. 54*b* he states that he finished it on the 25th of Sha'bân in the same year. Ff. 11–50 are an older fragment, perhaps of the seventeenth century.

Paper (of the main part) like that of MS. 1; watermark three crescents; 8¼ × 6¼ inches; the first quire has eight leaves; fol. 9 is an odd leaf; ff. 10–39, quires of 10; ff. 52–54 are odd leaves. The older part has the same watermark, and also the letters W L(?); these 10 leaves are enclosed in a sheet of the modern paper, thus forming a quire of 12. The total number of leaves is 54 + 1 blank.

Rough oriental binding, paper boards (apparently made of modern Arabic newspaper, or other printed matter), with leather back and flap.

MANUSCRIPT 3.—Fol. 2. General title: שריו חלק הראש מן בנוש הצלות אשר לשבתות והמועדים והחדשים מן ביניר הכהנים והזקנים להם רצון יהוה אמן: "Beginning of Part I of the collection of prayers for Sabbaths, feasts, and months, composed by the priests and elders, on whom be the grace of the Lord. Amen."

Fol. 2*b*. צלות שבת צמות הפסח הברוך. "Prayers for the Sabbath of the conjunction of the blessed Passover." The word צמות has a double meaning. Technically it is an astronomical term for the conjunction of planets, but it also means "meeting" or "assembly" in a general sense. The latter meaning is variously explained as referring (1) to the meeting of the people every six months to pay the half-shekel to the priest, and receive from him the calendar for the ensuing half year; (2) to the meeting of Moses and Aaron (Exod. iv. 27), which is commemorated on this occasion.

There is also a conjunction of the Feast of Tabernacles. Each takes place 60 days before its respective feast.

Fol. 17*b*. A דכור by Ṣâliḥ ibn Abi Ṣâliḥ should follow here, but it is omitted.

Directions for the afternoon prayers of the said Sabbath, after which are various compositions for the season.

Fol. 51*b*.—"Prayers for the first month," *i.e.*, for the eve of the first of Nisan.

Fol. 69*b*. "Prayers for the day of the first month, morning," *i.e.*, the morning of the first of Nisan.

Fol. 89*b*. "Prayers for the (first day of the) first month when it falls upon the Sabbath."

At the end are various pieces for the season:

Fol. 128*b*. על חדש הראישון הן [*i.e.*, שבחו] [illegible] הוה ביום שבתה [illegible] ירחמו יהוה. "A song of praise for the first month if it falls on the Sabbath,

by an ancestor of the copyist, Ghazâl the priest, the Levite, of Shechem; the Lord have mercy on him." The first eight lines of the piece give the author's acrostic, טביה כהנה. Personal names usually appear in two forms: one Arabic, for ordinary use; the other Hebrew, for religious purposes. In this case טביה is simply the Arabic طَبِى, and is equivalent to ظَبْيٌ = gazelle, but it is probably meant to suggest the Hebrew name Tobiah.

Fol. 130*b*. A hymn by the same, for the same occasion. Beg. אל האל בו הלל בזאת מימרי.

Fol. 133. A hymn of praise (شبحو) by the same, for the conjunction of Passover. Beg. על מזבח הצלות נעמד· ברכאנו ובדחלה. The first lines have the acrostic, (so) עבדכם טביה הלוי כאנא, "Your servant Ṭabyah the Levite, the priest."

On fol. 51*b* is a marginal note at the beginning of the prayers, to the effect that the service takes three hours and ten minutes. On fol. 69*b* a similar note, that the service there takes 3½ hours.

The MS. was written by Jacob the priest, the Levite, for his own use, and was begun, as stated on fol. 2, on Wednesday, the 27th of the month Ṣafar, 1274 A.H. (= 1857 A.D.). There are short colophons on ff. 47, 50*a*, 50*b*, 89, 130*b*, 132*b*. On fol. 69 is a longer colophon, giving the date "on the new moon of Ḏû'l-ḥijja, 1274" (= 1858 A.D.), and further describing the copyist as Jacob son of Aaron, son of the late Shalmah (المرحوم شلمة), son of the late Ṭabyah (طبية). On fol. 127*b* a similar colophon, with date Rajab, 1275 (= 1859 A.D.), "which is the beginning of the eleventh month in the Samaritan reckoning." On fol. 135 it is stated that the work was finished on the 22nd of Rajab [12]76 (= 1860 A.D.), corresponding to the new moon of Shebaṭ of the Christians. The equations of dates in this MS., as in No. 2, are not very accurate.

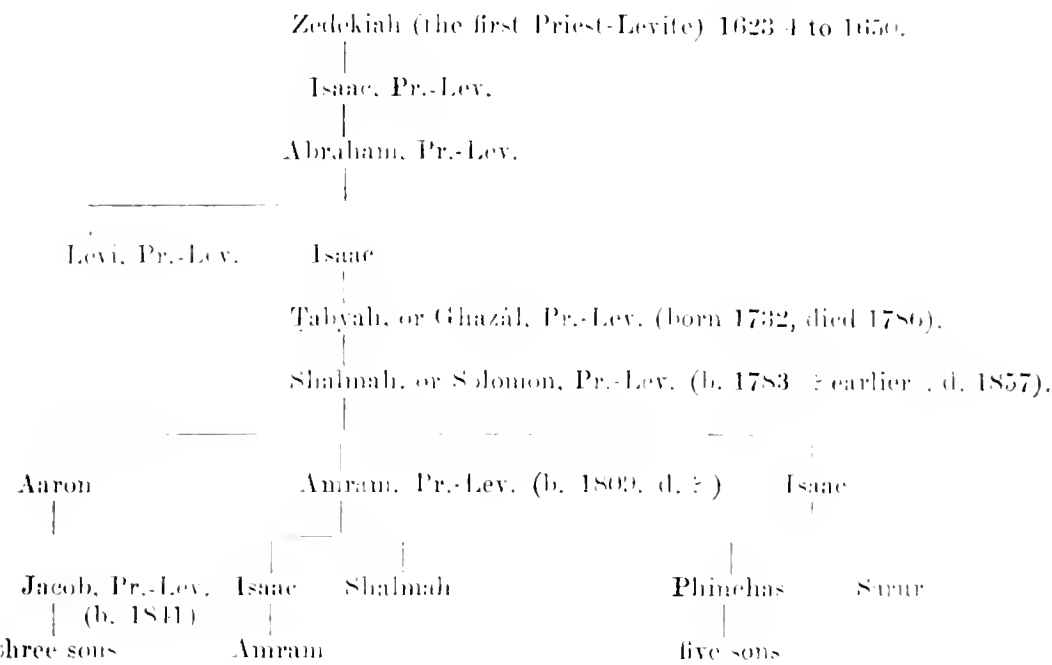
On fol. 96 is the peculiar form of acrostic called *tashkîl*, formed by dividing the text into two columns, and bringing out the letters required for the acrostic into the vacant space between them. The *tashkîl* is generally found in copies of the Pentateuch (usually in Deuteronomy), but is rare in other MSS. The acrostic here is אני יעקב בן אהרן בן שלמה הכהן.

The paper and size of this MS. are the same as of No. 2. The quires are mostly tens, but No. 4 is eight, Nos. 10 and 14 are twelves. There are 140 ff., of which ff. 1 and 135*b*–140 are blank. At the beginning and end a leaf is pasted to the binding. Original native leather binding. On the inside of the flap is written עור טהור זבח עדת השמרים בשכם "clean sacrificial leather, of the congregation of the Samaritans at Shechem"—evidently as an attraction to possible buyers among tourists.

At the end is a label, written in a feminine European hand, "Samaritan service books from Nablous."

The Jacob who wrote these two MSS. is the present priest. He does not bear the title high priest, but simply הכהן הלוי, "the priest, the Levite," since the high-priestly family of the house of Aaron died out in 1033 (= 1623/4 A.D.), after which time the office has been held by the Levitical family. Jacob was born in 1841, and was therefore only about 16 when he wrote MS. No. 3, in 1857/8. In 1857 his grandfather Shalmah or Solomon, the priest, died, and was succeeded by his son Amram, who had already acted as assistant for 30 years. In the same year Jacob was probably, according to the usual practice, made assistant priest by his uncle Amram. Amram is named in MS. 4, fol. 2*a*, with date 1264 (= 1848 A.D.) as having copied the hymn by his father Shalmah. Jacob's skill as a scribe had not improved when he copied MS. 2 in 1869.

The following table will show his genealogy :




MANUSCRIPT 4.—Contains the Hebrew text of Genesis xxix, 11 to xxxi, 36, and xxxi, 49, to the end of the book, according to the Samaritan recension. A leaf containing xxxi, 37 to 48, is missing. The volume is made up of certain old leaves, to which new leaves have been added to complete the text.

The older part, perhaps of the end of the seventeenth century, consists of ff. 1–18, 26–45, 49, 53. The writing is large and clear, but the leaves are much torn and defaced, and roughly mended at the edges. It is on oriental paper, with watermark three crescents and IAO (?).

The new part, which is quite modern, consists of ff. 19–25, 46–48, 50–52, 54, 55. It is on paper, with watermark F.F. Pala . . . [Po]zzuoli.

and three crescents. Size 8 inches by 6 inches. The volume is in a very bad state, all the quires being loose. The quires are of 8, 10, 6, 10, 10, 5, 5, 1, respectively—in all, 55 leaves.

No scribe or date is mentioned.

The binding is of rough native workmanship.

At the end is ספר הראישון: ר׳ ונ׳ קצין. "First book, 250 sections." The total number of sections is always given at the end of each book of the Pentateuch, just as the number of verses, &c., is given at the end of the books in the Masoretic text. The Samaritan text is not divided into chapters and verses, but into קצין (*see above* on MS. 1, fol. 2*b*) or sections, varying in length according to the sense. In all Samaritan MSS. of the Pentateuch each section begins a new paragraph.

As a specimen of liturgical compositions the following translation of two pieces is added, though it is difficult to produce a readable version. The first is by Marqah, one of their earliest writers, who lived in the fourth century A.D. It is in Aramaic (Samaritan proper) and very obscure. It is very frequently used, being included in nearly every service. The second is of a very different kind. It is in Samaritan Hebrew, and probably of a much later date:—

I.

א Look down upon us, Lord: we have not whither to turn save to Thee, for Thou art merciful. We know that we have sinned, but do Thou pardon our offences. Deal graciously with us, O Lord, and reward us not after our deservings.

ב With a mighty hand and with an uplifted arm Thou didst deliver our fathers from their enemies. They passed through the sea and through Jordan. Thou didst deliver them from all oppression and freedest them from all distress, and now help us, Lord, and reward us not after our deservings. Deal graciously with us, &c.[1]

ג Thy glory is that Thou art merciful, and our shame is that we are evil, but Thy goodness faileth not to comfort us. We are debtors and our thought is evil, but Thou art a God good and merciful. Deal graciously with the sinners that they be not overwhelmed in the judgments.

ד The mighty fear that is on the world men see and fear. Woe to us that we cannot understand the mercies (gifts) and the judgments the one and the other, this with that: the quails are gathered in heaps, yet murmurings are uttered at the judgments.

ה As we have committed sins, so we suffer calamities. We have no murmuring before Thy goodness. All our murmurings are against ourselves, that we have wrought our own destruction. When a man smites himself with his own hand, who can come and deliver him?

[1] As before, and so after each stanza.

ר If the Merciful help not and show light to them that love Him, we all must bewail ourselves. We have no voice (mouths) to cry for help. When the sinner cries for help and there is no helper to help him, what does his crying profit? He cries for help, but mercy is turned away from him.

ז Thy righteousness, O Lord, brings glory to Thy Godhead. With all generations from Adam until now, and from now and onward till the day of recompense, Thy glory is not restrained. With the righteous and with sinners, with the one and the other, Thou art merciful.

ח The day wherein Thou are not praised, every one that walks in it is darkened. Though a light is in his hand he seeth not. The night wherein Thou art not glorified, the sleeper is in sore calamity. The follower who has forsaken his guide is smitten without ceasing.

ט We have erred from the day that we forsook Thee. We would correct our error, and we delay not to return. Moses, the master of the prophets, sent and said to us in the Scripture, And thou shalt return to the Lord. Happy is he who returns and finds his Lord.

י Days full of oppression are the days of sinners. All this is because they have forgotten Him that was their helper. When they forsook Him He forsook them and brought them into divers judgments. Every judgment that cometh plucketh them up, and they have no voice to cry for help.

כ Even now destruction is in the field and devastation in the cities: for the Good (God) hath turned His face from us; and if the Merciful help not, and give light to them that love Him, surely fathers and sons shall perish in His wrath, for it is mighty.

ל The judgments do not terrify the sinner, nor the desolation make him afraid. He lays no burden on his soul at all. The rebel seeth himself defiled and knoweth that he is hardened in heart. He turns again to shamefulness and knows that there is no profit from it.

מ Death is like the priest, who gives a man the water of bitterness (Num. v, 18) to drink. Woe to him who is found guilty! woe to all the sinners, for they are in sore misery! The recompense which they suffer is the reward for all their transgressions.

נ The soul is in consternation and life (or living things) in sore affliction: for the Good (God) has turned His face from us, and if the Merciful help not and give light to them that love Him, sinners must bewail themselves, for they are in sore misery.

ס There are signs that make known that in our generation there is no man but is partner in sin: fathers and sons, girls and boys, as they have all deserved in that they rebelled, so do they suffer the judgments.

ע Ah! for our sins! they, they it is that slay us. They slay dumb animals and (speaking) men. Whether clean beasts, or children

that have not transgressed, or chosen men the sons of the righteous, they suffer for sins which they have not committed.

ה The Fanuta[1] it is that works all this great curse. May it be accursed in every place! The fruits of the body fail and the fruits of the earth are changed (?). The mouth of judgment is opened against us, swallowing up the infant and the aged.

ו The great devastation that is in the world, men see and fear. Woe to us that we cannot learn! Neither from His sustaining us do we learn, nor by the judgment of the body are we perfected. We fear the judgment of death, lest the source of fruitfulness fail.

ז The height and the deep complain against us, and well may they complain! for they find wrath in every place. The face of the lights (of heaven) is changed, and the deep withholds its springs. The wicked finds not whither he may go, when he turns to himself.

ח Merciful and Good! deal graciously as Thou art wont. We cannot stand in this judgment. The leaf of a tree terrifies the sinner, and how shall we stand in the judgment that terrifies the world? Deal graciously with the sinners, that they be not overwhelmed in judgments.

ט Thy name is merciful and pitiful: send not away Thy attributes from us: for the living are naked, and if Thou cover them not with Thy goodness, surely they perish as in a moment, for they are like the tender herb, and the tempest of sins is mighty.

י Praise and glory let us speak, ere we turn away from here, unto Him that lives for ever, the Almighty who gives us life freely, though we anger Him wantonly. Whether Thou give us life or death, both are in the power of Thy majesty.

*Conclusion.*

Lord, for the sake of the three perfect men, and for the sake of Joseph the interpreter of dreams, and Moses the master of the prophets, and the priests the fathers of the priests; by the Law the most holy of books, and Mount Garizim the everlasting hill, and the hosts of the angels, destroy our enemies and them that hate us, and receive our prayers. Open unto us the treasury of heaven, O Eternal; deliver us from these afflictions; deal graciously with us, O Lord, and reward us not after our deservings.

Praised be our God! The Lord is a God merciful and gracious, slow to anger and plenteous in mercy and truth.

II. *Hymn for the Sabbath of Amalek* [MS. 2, fol. 44*b sqq.*], *by Ben Menir.*

From the top of the Hill of the Law we look down on Rephidim, and behold Amalek and Israel met together.

For this battle did Moses write a book of remembrance, according to the word of the Lord most glorious.

[1] The period of Divine displeasure, dating from the time of Eli.

Moses said to Joshua, Choose for us men that are strong of heart, and let them be assembled for battle.

Then Joshua sent an order through the camp according to the word of Moses, Be ready against the morrow to fight at Rephidim.

Peace be to you from Moses! Thus he commands you: at the turn of the morning be ye standing before him.

Thus he commands you: he whose heart is ready, let him go forth arrayed for battle, not with a covering of garments (?).

When the morning was light there were the mighty men of battle standing around the tent of Moses.

Then Moses came forth and saw the camp of Israel set, with its weapons of battle like flashing lightnings.

He lift up his voice in weeping and greeted them, and they all bowed themselves to the ground there.

He said to them, Blessed be the Lord which hath increased you from seventy souls to multitudes skilled in the law.

God Almighty bring you out from this battle in safety, as He brought you forth from the house of bondage.

Then Moses and Aaron and Hur went up to the top of the hill, and the camp of Israel moved, trusting in glory (?).

The sun rose upon the earth, and there were Amalek and his people, giants of the earth, in their wickedness coming against them.

Straightway Joshua and Amalek were face to face, and all whose sword was in their hand, flaming like fire.

The son of Eliphaz drew near and Joshua drew near to him, between the two camps, they two apart.

Then said Amalek to Joshua, Who art thou that thou canst fight with the chief of the sons of Nimrod (or the rebels)?

Joshua answered, If thou art chief of the Nimrodites, I am Joshua the chief of the disciples.

Amalek said, Look at my stature. All my people are like me, who sacrifice to demons.

Joshua said to him, Our look is otherwise, for we testify to the prophecy of the son of Amram.

Amalek said to him, Oh! Joshua, how long have I seen the sparrows coming down on the prey?

Joshua said to him, If thou art the prey, surely the great eagle on the hill is spreading forth his hands.

Amalek said to him, I am the son of Eliphaz, son of Esau, in whose mouth was the prey that he hunted (?).

Joshua said to him, I am the son of Nun, son of Eden, son of Shutelah, son of Ephraim, son of Joseph, chief of the heads.

The talk was lengthened between them above all that tongues can speak. There was left naught but smiting with the sword and destruction.

Moses the prophet lifted his hands to heaven, and lo! Amalek and his people were destroyed by the hand of Joshua.

Moses lifted his hands and sword struck sword—there was no salvation save from the Creator of creation.

That all generations may know that but for the hands of Moses, surely Israel had been destroyed by the hand of Amalek.

I left Amalek stretched on the earth, and Joshua discomfited Amalek and his people, the rebels.

Then the Lord said to Moses, Write this for a memorial in a book, and rehearse it in the ears of Joshua, for I will surely blot out the name of the proud.

And Moses built an altar and called its name Jehovah-nissi. So may He deliver you, O ye who here are gathered.

And reveal to you His tabernacle on the most holy of sanctuaries. So may He preserve your lives, all of you, both fathers and sons.

This is my greeting to you at this season: it is meet that I say to you, May you continue your days in gladness.

*Conclusion.*

Say ye, O Eternal, O Maker of creation and all that is in it, receive the prayers of Israel, and make good to them Thy name (*i.e.*, be merciful as Thou art named the Merciful).

At the end of my words let us all pray to the Lord in sincerity, and praise His name.

Let us conclude our supplication, and stand at the altar of prayer, and say, And Moses built an altar.

## THE EGYPTIAN MONUMENT OF TELL ESH-SHIHÂB.

By Professor W. Max Müller, Philadelphia.

The Egyptian granite stela of Pharaoh Sethos (Egyptian Setoy) I which Professor G. A. Smith discovered at Tell esh-Shihâb, in the Haurân region (*cf. Quarterly Statement*, October, 1901, p. 348), is a find of great importance. First, it confirms the fact attested to by the so-called stone of Job at Sheikh Sa'd that the Egyptian kings of Dynasty XIX (and XVIII, of course) held Palestine east of the Jordan subject as far as the ground was cultivable. Until a few years ago we all doubted if the Egyptian dominion really extended across the Jordan valley. It is, however, perfectly in agreement with the ancient conditions of Palestine that the above prejudice against the Pharaonic power now proves to be erroneous. If cultivation extended farther east and the Bedouin element had less sway than at present, the chances for subjecting the inhabitants

were better for every conqueror, and the wealth of the country made the temptation for conquest stronger.

While Professor G. A. Smith's discovery thus corrects a gap in my book, *Asien und Europa*, p. 198 (233, note 1, 273), the passage, p. 199, has not been interpreted quite correctly. In stating that Sethos I waged war and extended his territory on the northern frontier of Palestine only, I meant that everything south of that field of conquest was in his undisputed possession. The point which has been specially emphasised throughout that book is: Palestine was not only occasionally raided and forced to pay occasional tribute to the Egyptians, as scholars believed formerly, but remained in the position of a part of the Egyptian empire from 1700 to 1200 B.C.[1] Consequently, the new monument of Tell esh-Shihâb is hardly to be explained as a commemoration of conquest. It may, *perhaps*, have mentioned a victory over some rebels in the part which is now broken off, but what remains of the stela, viz., the peaceful representation of the king, does not favour this interpretation. Much more probable is it that the stone did not commemorate any victory over the Asiatics, but merely expressed the loyalty of the dedicator to his king. It does not bear the local religious character of the inscription at Sheikh Sa'd, containing the name of Rameses II, but corresponds with this monument as a sign of the continuous possession of Palestine.

There remains, however, one important conclusion yet to be drawn from the new stela. It has no graffito character, but is a carefully and expensively executed monument which shows that once upon a time a considerable settlement must have been at or near Tell esh-Shihâb. Furthermore, it is of the purest Egyptian workmanship and not an imitation by an Asiatic sculptor. Now, the man who expressed his loyalty by the erection of such a stately monument and had good Egyptian artists at hand can only have been an Egyptian official of some rank, stationed at that place. If we remember the great strategic importance of Tell esh-Shihâb (as described so vividly by Professor G. A. Smith, p. 345), the conclusion is necessary that, under Sethos I, the Egyptians must have maintained a garrison on the spot to guard the Haurân.

[1] It may be mentioned here, by the way, that Thutmosis III, so far as we know, did not fight in this part of Palestine. The Karnak list merely reports that troops from it (from Astaroth, Edrei, &c.) had fought in company with the rebels at Megiddo, and had capitulated with the rest.

Possibly, even a "royal city" or "station" stood there, with magazines for receiving the yearly tribute of grain from the surrounding region. Excavations would certainly furnish some traces of the Egyptian soldiers and officials.[1]

The "stone of Job" is, evidently, too far remote from the settlement just described to be connected with it. As has been said above, its Egyptian representation indicates only the religious importance of the locality, nothing else.

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# THE ALLEGED MENTION OF CHEDORLAOMER ON A BABYLONIAN TABLET.

By Colonel C. R. Conder, R.E., D.C.L., LL.D.

If it could be proved that the King of Elam whose name is written by the signs *CU-CU-CU-CU-MA* was the Chedorlaomer of Genesis (xiv, 1), his history would be important to Palestine research, since the latter invaded Canaan. I have already called attention (*Quarterly Statement*, July, 1898) to the texts, translated by Dr. T. G. Pinches, in which this name occurs, one being a poem describing the desecration of a temple in Babylon, and the punishment of the Elamite offender. These documents are, however, written in the Babylonian cuneiform script of the sixth or seventh century B.C., and the connection with history of the twenty-second century B.C. has been denied by many scholars. Further study of the texts appears to indicate who this Elamite king really was, and to show that the events recorded occurred in 648 B.C. The tablets are difficult to understand, because much mutilated; and in some passages great uncertainty exists, because the cuneiform emblems had more than one sound in common use. The following readings, however, throw considerable light on the subject :—

Sp. II, 987.—. . . . . "the government I (founded ?) . . . . (to) the ends of heaven to the four quarters . . . He established them: the government which Babylon the glorious city . . . he established for them, the property possessed by those of Babylon, great and small . . . By their advice they supported *CU CU CU CU MA*, king of the land of Elam. They decided to overthrow all that . . . . . good things on them. In Babylon, the city of Babylonia, they made a government. . . . In Babylon, the city of Merodach, King of Gods, they overthrew . . . they made an end of it. Priests (*Kalabi*) of a robber house favoured . . . . they burned constantly. Strangers (*Aribi*) brought by him from afar they loved . . . . he changed . . . . the strangers made a disturbance (*Uskhu*)

[1] Might not the name ("mound of the warrior," *cf.* Professor G. A. Smith, p. 316) point to an old sculpture representing a warrior?

coming to the region of the west (*tabbi IK MARTU*) . . . The priest (*Kalabu*) broke the commandment (*NER PADDA*[1]) he favoured a God . . . . he made a change. They sped from afar (*Sir Khassu*), the robbers, entering the region of the west . . . the abode of the King of Elam, who caused the temple of Bel to be spoiled (*issalul*) . . . . the sons of Babylon restore it, their work . . . . . which ye set in order. Thus I the King, son of the King . . . . . son of the daughter of the King who sat on the throne of the Kingdom . . . . . *Durrubilani*, son of *Arad Malku*, to announce . . . . sat on the throne of the Kingdom in former time, as . . . . no King may come, whom from of old they supported . . . . proclaimed Master of Babylon, unless they decided in the month Cislen (November), and the month Tammuz (June) to make . . . . . the beginning of the (flooding?) of all the lands . . . . by their advice to support . . . . the chief beginning of the flood . . . . . by the announcement that he caused . . . . . the King, the ruler, not . . . . . himself . . . . . the God Shamash . . . . . the officials . . . . . that day, as many as . . . . . the sinful lords . . . . . he wished, whoever . . . . . the good of Babylon, of the temple of Bel" . . . . .

This letter or proclamation is signed by a scribe whose name is lost. It appears to refer to reconsecration of the temple desecrated by the rebels and foreigners.

Sr. III, 2.— . . . . . "his deed, not . . . . . went out in haste . . . . . before the Gods was . . . . the day . . . . *Samas-sum-nammir* . . . . the Lord of Lords Merodach in strength of heart . . . . . a slave. All his lands I took, unprotected . . . . I caused to be smitten. *Durrubilani*, son of *Arad Malaku* . . . . . the possessions he took away. Chiefs (*Ai*) over Babylon and the temple of Bel . . . . . by the sword I destroyed all that was his: I slaughtered him . . . . . he burned it with fire. The father and the son by the sword . . . . . the son he cut off. In revenge the son . . . . to slaughter . . . . he carried away possessions. Chiefs over Babylon and the temple of Bel . . . . . his son, with the sword all that were his he smote in his presence . . . . his dominions before his face Ammnit . . . . Elam, the city *Ikh* . . . . . the capital he spoiled . . . . . remained in ruins, the fortress of the land of *Akkad*, all the . . . . . he made an end. *CU CU CU MA* his son, with iron sword . . . . his chief (*amun*) in its midst . . . . . his foe. He took at will the vain kings, and sinful lords . . . (who) arose in rebellion, for the King of Gods Merodach was wroth with them . . . . . sickness fell upon them, he cursed the place . . . . . was reduced to ruins. All of them for the King our Lord . . . . . knowing the wishes of the gods. They were gracious. Merodach for his name sake . . . . . and the temple of Bel. He said, "Let him return to his place . . . . . May he make firm thy heart. Both these O King, my lord . . . . his foe in his midst, the Gods . . . sin, not to" . . . . . .

[1] *NER*, "yoke," *PAD-DA*, "established"—*i.e.*, the established customs. The translation of this passage by Dr. Pinches is, however, different.

This apparently records the victory over Elam by a native king. Durrubilani, son of Malku (or Malaku), was apparently a general or official concerned in the war on the side of the conqueror. An Elamite garrison, under an *Umun* or "Prince," was reduced by sickness and siege. The term *Ai*, rendered "Chiefs," appears to be also Elamite (Turkish *Ai*, "Chief"), for they spoke a Mongol language, as shown by texts from Susa, akin to that of the Minyans, Akkadians, Kassites, and Hittites.

These events—the rebellion of Babylon in league with Elam, the spoiling of its temple, and the subsequent defeat of the Elamite king—point to the reign of Assurbanipal, King of Assyria, who defeated his brother Samas-sum-ukin the King of Babylon. The latter allied himself to Elam, and sent the treasure of the temple of Bel from Babylon, and that of the temple of Nergal in Kutha, and of the temple of Nebo in Borsippa, to Ummanigas, the King of Elam, after breaking open the treasuries. In 648 B.C. Assurbanipal took Babylon, and his brother perished in the flames of his palace, while Ummanigas was also defeated by the Assyrians and fled. Thus all the events mentioned in the preceding tablets, including the rebellion, the Elamite invasion and defeat, the burning of the palace, and especially the spoiling of the temple of Bel, are recorded independently in the annals of Assyria. I am not aware that this comparison has yet been pointed out. The struggle with Elam had begun yet earlier, when Assurbanipal defeated previous kings—Urtaku and Te-Umman—near Susa; and it continued later, against Umman-Aldas and Tammaritu, who were also defeated. The ruin of Elam perhaps gave opportunity for the establishment of the Aryan Persians in that region, instead of the older Mongol race, whose language, however, continued in use, even to the time of Darius, side by side with Persian.

By the light of this information we may consider the probable reading of the name represented by the signs *CU CU CU CU MA*: for in some Elamite inscriptions the ideogram *CU-CU* is used to signify a "prince" (*Umun*), and the reduplication signifies a plural, just as in our second inscription, *BEL BEL*, stands for the plural of *Bel* "Lord." The last sign, *MA*, has several other sounds, including *GA*, so that it seems quite possible to read the whole name as *Ummaniga*, which would be equivalent to Ummanigas, if we regard the *s* as the sign of the nominative, as it is in other cognate dialects, such as the Minyan, Kassite, and Hittite.

For these reasons it appears to me that we must abandon the proposed identification with Chedorlaomer. Professor Hommel thought that the broken word *Hammu* . . . in the second text might be the name of Amraphel, contemporary of Chedorlaomer, but it is not preceded by the special mark for proper names, which occurs in the others in this text. The name *Arad Malku* has also been read *Eri-Eaku*, and supposed to represent Arioch; while *Tutkhula* has been taken as a proper name (Tidal), though probably only a common noun. It would have been very interesting to find all these personages (*see* Gen. xiv, 1) mentioned together, even if only in a copy of an older text, made some 14 centuries after their time;

but the explanation has not met with favour among scholars, and the name of Chedorlaomer has not been found on any monument, in spite of various attempts to prove its occurrence.

# OBSERVATIONS ON THE DEAD SEA LEVEL.

By Dr. E. W. Gurney Masterman.

*Second Report*, 1902–1903.

In the *Quarterly Statement* for April, 1902, I gave a short account of the results of the observations on the level of the surface of the Dead Sea from October, 1900, till February, 1902; since then some of my periodical reports have been published, but as these cannot give a clear idea of the season's changes, I here give a brief summary of the results up to the end of 1903. This forms a particularly suitable time at which to do so, because after this year (1903) the observations are to be taken only bi-annually.

During the last year and a half the method of taking the measurements has been much the same as that previously described; but in order to check the results, an additional series of observations has been commenced from a large rock standing in the middle of the pool into which flows most of the water of *'Ain Feshkhah* (see *Quarterly Statement*, 1902, p. 165). Although for several reasons the results there are not so accurate as those taken at the actual sea-shore, yet as checks to the other observations they are useful. Under instructions from the Committee of the Palestine Exploration Fund, I have also during my recent visits made observations on the weather, the state of the surface of the sea, temperature, atmospheric pressure, &c.; the results of these I here report.

1. *The Change of Level at the "Observation Rock."*—During the past seasons, including those previously reported on, the rise and fall in the Dead Sea level was as follows:—

(1) From October 9th, 1900, to March 1st, 1901, a *rise* occurred of 14·5 inches. The level began to fall during March.

(2) From March, 1901, to December 13th, 1901, there was a *fall* of 20 inches. The rise commenced in January.

(3) From this to March 21st the water *rose* 6 inches only, reaching as its highest point for 1902 the 14-feet line which had been the lowest in 1900. It is possible that it may have risen a little higher during April, as on April 26th the level was found just the same as it had been a month previously.

(4) From this time (April 26th) the water *fell* 1½ inches till May 30th, and then rapidly during the summer, so that by October 24th it had fallen a total of 26 inches. This, the lowest measurement for the 1902

TABLE I.—*Showing the Results of Measurements taken at two points at 'Ain Feshkhah*, 1902–1903.

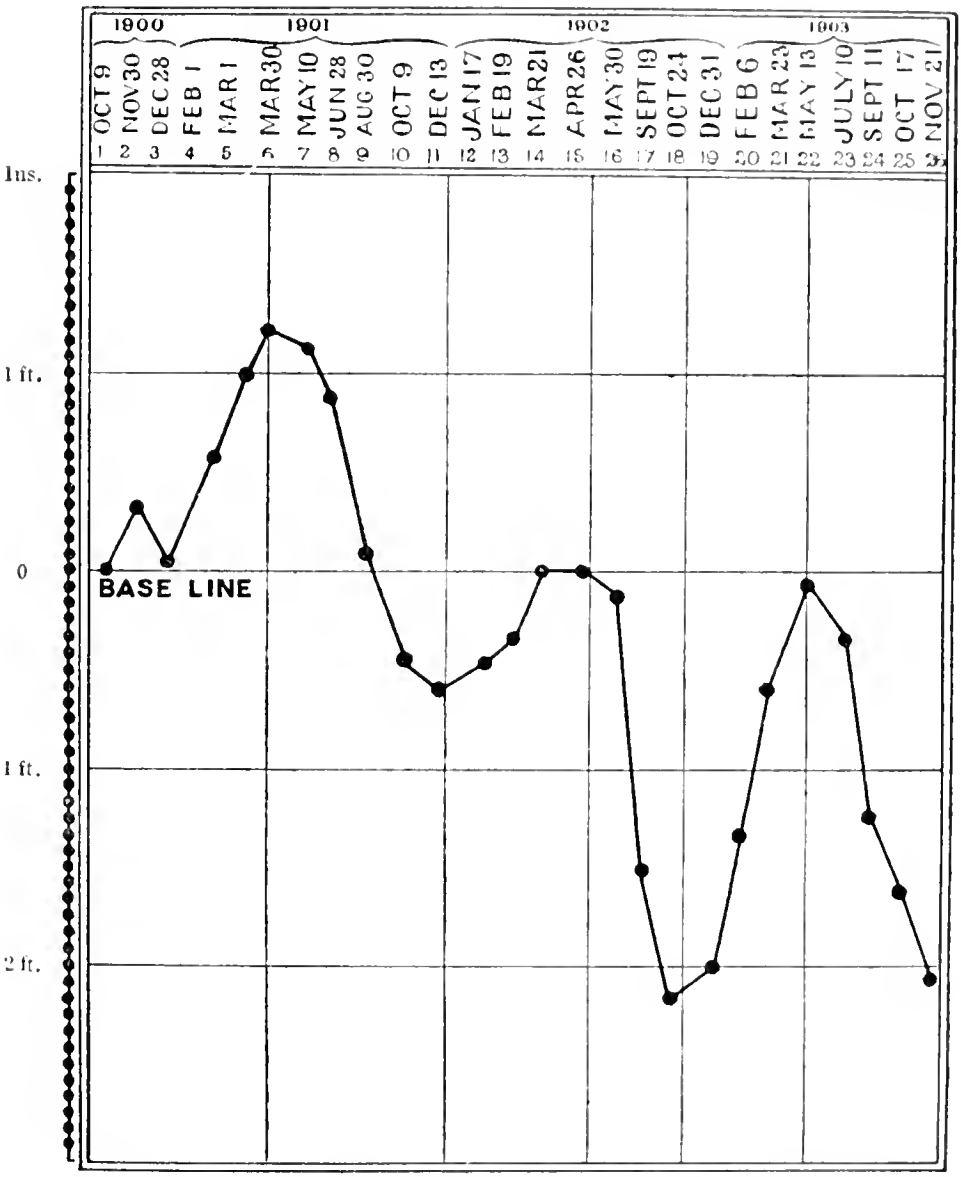
| No. of visits. | Date. | Hour. | Length of interval since preceding visit. | Rainfall during interval in Jerusalem. | Measurements of Dead Sea level. | | | | Remarks. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | | "Observation" Rock. | | "Pool." | | |
| | | | | | Rise. | Fall. | Rise. | Fall. | |
| | 1902. | | Days. | Inches. | Inches. | Inches. | Inches. | Inches. | |
| 13 | February 19.. | 10.15 a.m. | 33 | 4·575 | 1·5 | — | —* | — | See *Quarterly Statement*, 1902, p. 166. |
| 14 | March 21 .. | 9.0 a.m. | 29 | 2·68 | 3·5 | — | 2·5 | — | See *Q.S.*, 1902, pp. 297, 298. |
| 15 | April 26 .. | 6.30 a.m. | 35 | 1·69 | — | — | 0·5 | — | See *Q.S.*, 1902, p. 299. |
| 16 | May 30 .. | 7.30 a.m. | 33 | 0·08 | — | 1·5 | — | 0·75 | See *Q.S.*, 1902, p. 406. |
| 17 | September 19 | 6.30 a.m. | 112 | — | — | 16·5 | — | 12·25 | |
| 18 | October 24 .. | 10.0 a.m. | 34 | 0·65 | — | 8·0 | — | 4·0 | |
| 19 | December 31 | 10.0 a.m. | 67 | 12·21 | 2·0 | — | — | 2·0 | Long interval due to cholera at Jericho. |
| | 1903. | | | | | | | | |
| 20 | February 6 .. | 11.30 a.m. | 37 | 7·08 | 8·0 | — | 7·0 | — | |
| 21 | March 23 .. | 3.45 p.m. | 45 | 5·73 | 9·0 | — | 9·0 | — | |
| 22 | May 13 .. | 6.0 a.m. | 50 | 0·74 | 6·5 | — | 5·5 | — | Visit made by Mr. Hornstein. |
| 23 | July 10 .. | 7.0 a.m. | 58 | — | — | 4·0 | — | 5·0 | Visit made by Mr. Hornstein. |
| 24 | September 11 | 6.30 p.m. | 63 | — | — | 10·5 | — | 8·0 | |
| 25 | October 17 .. | 8.0 a.m. | 36 | 0·115 | — | 4·5 | — | 5·5 | |
| 26 | November 21 | 9.45 a.m. | 35 | 0·470 | — | 5·0 | — | 5·0 | |

* First observation taken this visit.

season, was 19·5 inches lower than the lowest for 1901, and 26 inches lower than that of 1900.

(5) On December 31st the *rise* was found to have commenced (2 inches), and during the first four months of this year (1903) the level rose no

TABLE II.



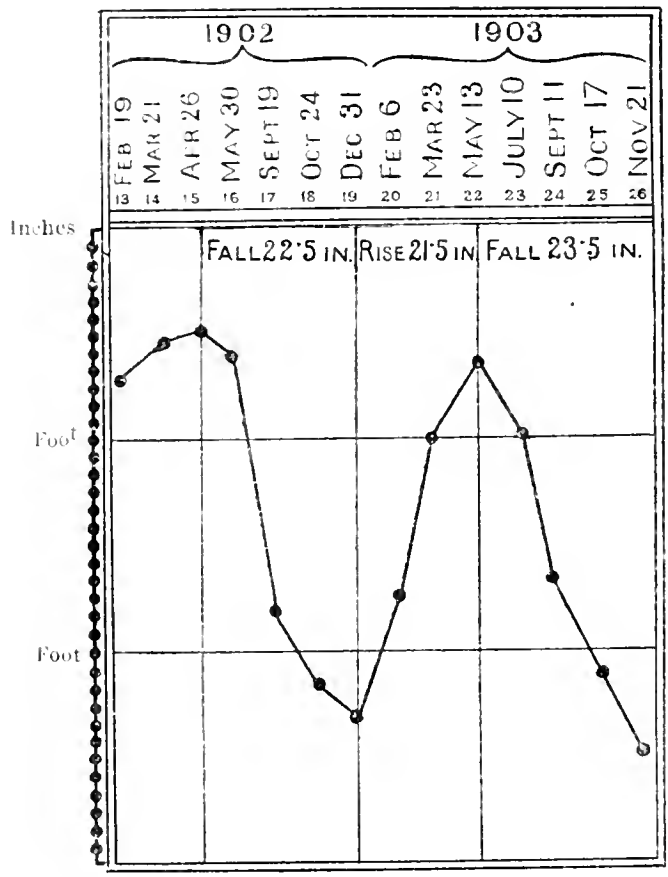

The marked point on the "Observation Rock" was originally (October, 1900) 14 ft. above the sea-level; the distance in November, 1903, was 16 ft. 1½ ins.

less than 25·5 inches, reaching a level practically equal to the maximum of last year in spite of the unusual fall. It is noticeable that the rise continued into the middle of May—a time when in the two previous years the fall had commenced. (*See* Tables I and II.)

(6) The *fall*, which probably commenced in May, amounted to 4 inches on July 10th, to 14½ inches by September 11th, to 19 inches by October 17th, and to 24 inches by November 21st. The lowest level reached is thus slightly above the lowest of 1902.

2. *The Observations at the 'Ain Feshkhah Pool.*—The method of taking the measurements at the pool is simple and direct. Near the middle of the pool is an isolated rock which may be reached by swimming,

TABLE III.—*Measurements taken at the Rock in the 'Ain Feshkhah Pool.*




The original mark (February 19th, 1902), was 1 foot 8½ inches above the level of the water; the lowest measurement obtained was 3 feet 6 inches, on November 21st, 1903.

or, when the water is low, by wading. In February, 1902, I cut, by means of a chisel, a mark on this rock at the level of a very definite line of discoloration round the rock made by the water when at its highest a previous season. From this point to the level of the water is readily measured, and as the surface of the pool is never disturbed by waves the measurements are very exact. The results are very similar to those given above, but are vitiated by the fact that when the Dead Sea sank considerably the waters of the pool were partly retained by a kind of bar

at the entrance. In consequence the fall during 1902 was only 22·5 inches, and the rise 21·5 inches. When the pool is fairly deep the changes of level in the pool from month to month are almost exactly the same as those at the sea-shore. (*See* Table III.)

3. *Relation of the Changes of Level to the Rainfall.* The considerable fall in the Dead Sea level has followed two very dry seasons, the results of whose scanty rainfall have been evident all over the land by the drying up of pools and springs. The somewhat heavier rainfall of 1901–1902 was not sufficient to restore the balance and make up for the general drought. On the other hand, the considerable rise (2 feet 1½ inches) occurring this spring has followed a considerable increase of rainfall. The relation of the rises to the rainfall of the previous seasons is shown thus :-

| | | Rainfall in Inches |
|---|---|---|
| (1) | *Rise*, December, 1900, to March 30th, 14·5 inches.... | 15·945 |
| (2) | ,, December 13th, 1901, to April 26th, 1902, 6·5 inches ... .... .... .... | 20·040 |
| (3) | ,, December 31st (inclusive), 1902, to May, 1903, 25·5 inches .... .... .... .... .... | 26·41 |

The replenishment of the springs was very evident in this part of the Dead Sea valley. It was marked in the Wâdy Kelt. Following the heavy rainfalls some eight or ten years ago a fairly wide stream of water continued to run down the Wâdy Kelt past Jericho for some weeks after the dry season commenced. There was none, except immediately after rain, in the spring of 1901 and 1902, but during this year it ran in considerable volume at any rate to the end of March. At the *'Ain Feshkhah* oasis, not only did the much-reduced springs begin to run with renewed vigour after the season's rainfall, but in May a new spring was found flowing with great copiousness, giving rise to a stream of water over a foot deep and over 20 feet wide. This new fountain burst up in the small thicket of reeds known as *Haish el-Mafkhim* (see *Quarterly Statement*, 1902, p. 164). Here I have never seen any running water; indeed, the ground has been almost uniformly dry. The new spring was running copiously in July, and even in November was some inches deep and 15 feet across. It may be only a coincidence, but the appearance of this spring must have been just about the time of the earthquake (*Quarterly Statement*, 1903, p. 190). It was not running on March 23rd when I was at the place, the earthquake occurred March 30th, and Mr. Hornstein found the water flowing as described on visiting the district on May 13th. Several fantastic reports without any foundation have been circulated regarding the effect of the earthquake in the Jordan Valley, but this new fountain appears to be one definite physical change.

4. *Temperature, Wind, and Weather.*—In Table No. IV the results of observations on these heads are shown. As regards the temperature I have only to point out that as we always endeavoured to make our visits at the coolest possible time of the day, the figures do not give much idea

TABLE IV.

| Date. | Temperature of Air and time taken. | Wind. | State of atmosphere. | State of surface of sea. | Barometer in Jerusalem. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| February 19 | — | N.E. (morning), S.E. (afternoon). | Misty (morning) .. | "White line" distant when first seen; blown ashore later in day. | — |
| March 21 .. | 70 (8 a.m.) | N.W., then S.E., with showers in afternoon. | Haze to S.E. (morning). | Two "white lines" in early morning, broken up and drawn ashore by 8.30 a.m. | 27·516 |
| April 26 .. | 77° (6.30 a.m.) | N.W., later in morning S.E. | Haze to E. and S.E. | "White line" faint and irregular, driven ashore by 8 a.m. | — |
| May 30 .. | 78° (7.30 a.m.) | W., very light; later in morning S.E. | Clear .. .. | "White line" broken up, faint and distant; drawn ashore by 9.30. | — |
| September 19 | 83° (7 a.m.) | N.E. (I left the Ghor too early to mark any change.) | .. .. | "White line" at first ill defined, later became more compacted. | 27·482 |
| October 24.. | 92° (11 a.m.) | Soft S. wind (9.30) .. .. | Remarkably clear.. | *No* "white line" visible, but north shore strewn with foam. | 27·424 |
| December 31 | 75° (11 a.m.) | E. (before sunrise), then N.E., N., and N.W. | Clear .. .. | "White line" much broken up at north end of Dead Sea, but clear in distance; disappeared when wind became north. | — |

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| February 6 .. | 72° (noon.) | Gentle S. wind in morning, S.W. with showers in afternoon. | Very clear.. .. | *No* "white line"; a little irregular foam, low waves. | — |
| March 23 .. | 75° (3.30 p.m.) | S.E. early in afternoon, then E., N.E., and later W. | Brilliantly clear .. | *No* "white line"; a little irregular foam, small waves. | 27·466 |
| May 13 .. | 79° (7 a.m.) | N.E. and E., later S. and S.W. | Very clear.. .. | Small waves in morning; at first two "white lines," broken up when wind became south. | 27·576 |
| July 10 .. | 82° (6.25 a.m.) | Slight E. breeze; at 11 a.m. strong S.W., at 5 p.m. N. | Very clear.. .. | *No* "white line"; about 10 a slight diagonal line from north-east and south-east. | 27·470 |
| September 11 | — | S.W. wind; very slight early, but increasing to a breeze. | Mountains to east never very clear; some mist over sea to south-east. | *No* "white line"; irregular patches of foam, and later in morning much foam blown on north shore. | 27·452 |
| October 17 .. | 80° (10 a.m.) | Hot and still; slight puffs of wind felt from E. and W., chiefly former. | Brilliantly clear .. | Surface of water covered with small waves, and part near 'Ain flecked with irregular patches of foam; an irregular and scattered line down lake, more distinct after noon. | 27·572 |
| November 21 | 72° (11 a.m.) | Before dawn a slight S.W. wind, after N.E., increasing during the forenoon. | Very clear; slight mist over water till about 11 a.m. | Small waves; irregular lines of foam on west side of lake and near middle; a rather more distinct line after noon | 27·710 |

of the average temperature: and, secondly, as the atmosphere is usually loaded with moisture the heat is more trying than an equivalent temperature in, say, Jerusalem.

Observations on the temperature of the *'Ain Feshkhah* springs showed that it ranges very slightly between 79° and 80·5° F. The temperature of the water is not affected by that of the atmosphere, but by the force with which it rises. When the springs became very scanty a temperature as low as 75° F. has been registered. This, too, is the average temperature of the water in the Pool. The spring known as *'Ain el-Mabneyeh* usually had an apparent temperature about half a degree (F.) above the *'Ain en-Nahr*, due to the water rising in full volume into a pool over 2 feet deep, and it being possible to push the thermometer quite underground, but now this spring is again buried in reeds.

With regard to the wind, I have found the daily variations in the Jordan valley very great. Those who live there report that a north-east wind is usual in the early morning, which changes to south-east about 9 or 10 o'clock, is westerly in afternoon, and veers to the north again about 5 p.m. The boatmen who go to the Kerak end of the lake rely on this evening breeze to start. The observations I report seem to confirm this account, and a west and north-west breeze is the rule in the afternoons and evenings in Jerusalem. On all our visits the sea has been fairly calm, and I am not satisfied that the wind makes any measurable difference in the levels. The long banks of pebbles at various levels along the north shore of the Dead Sea do not represent, as has been stated, levels reached in storms, but the maximum levels of the previous seasons.

The so-called "white line" has been the subject of remark from many travellers; I have referred to it in previous reports. It is a long line of compacted foam running roughly from north to south down the lake. It has been remarked that from the western mountains it may be seen running the whole length of the line. My observations show that (at the north end of the Dead Sea at any rate) it is usual to find it in the early morning, but that it is almost always destroyed later on by being driven inshore about 8 or 9 o'clock; the usual cause of its destruction is the south-east wind. On very still days the line may not be visible, though irregular patches of foam may be seen in mid-sea. The line occupies no special point on the sea, but is blown from east to west; I think it must be compacted by an easterly or slightly north-easterly breeze before dawn.

The state of the atmosphere over the Dead Sea has usually been very clear; haze, when present, has usually been noticed just after sunrise and, probably from other accounts, before sunset. I have seen it stated that though the mountains of Moab look so clear when looked at from a height, they are veiled in haze when viewed from the western shore of the Dead Sea. This has not been my experience.

5. *Barometric Observations.*—My experience with the aneroid barometer sent out to me has not been fortunate and though I report

successful observations made on several occasions, on other visits the barometer went quite out of order, due to its not being adapted to work at such low levels. On one occasion I took it all through the land, through Tiberias and Hermon to Damascus and back by the east of the Jordan. The instrument acted admirably until I reached the Jordan bridge, when it went entirely wrong. For this reason my results are very incomplete. In Table IV I give the reading of the Palestine Exploration Fund mercury barometer in my house on the day when the Jerusalem observation with the aneroid was taken at 9 a.m.

6. The region traversed between Jerusalem or Jericho and *'Ain Feshkhah* is practically uninhabited. I have been the latter route many times without encountering a human being coming and going. Except in February and early March the whole route is parched and dry until the oasis itself is reached. In these early spring months the Jericho plain is usually covered with small flowers, chiefly yellow compositæ and a small purple wild stock, and a number of the low shrubs have succulent leaves which can nourish camels and sheep. In the spring of 1902 some Bedouin from the hills brought their flocks into the region known as *'Ard Hajar el-Asbah*, but this summer I saw none either in the plain or the mountains above—they were all encamped in the higher ground. In March, 1902, a very large flock of sheep belonging to the *Taamereh* Bedouin was being washed in the *'Ain Feshkhah* pool when I was there.

The Sultan's herd of cattle from Jericho, which were at the *'Ain Feshkhah* oasis during 1902, are not there this year. Some people from *Abû Dis* come at times to cut the young rushes and dry them for mats and baskets; I have seen long lines of these grasses drying, but have only once come across the people themselves.

The most interesting workers in this region are the salt smugglers, whom I have several times encountered. They belong to the *Sowakery* tribe of Bedouin. Salt is a Government monopoly in the land, and when during the summer months guards are kept at the lagoons on the north shore to prevent smuggling, the Bedouin go to *'Ain Jidy* for salt; during the wet season the guards are removed, and smuggling is carried on with little attempt at secrecy.

On February 6th this year I encountered a considerable party of smugglers. The first I saw of them was a straggler—a girl with two donkeys, who, taking me in the distance for a soldier, rushed on ahead up the mountain, and when out of sight doubled, with her beasts, into a deep wâdy. Further on, to the Jerusalem side of *Neby Mûsa*, I caught up the main party, consisting of six camels and 17 donkeys, all loaded with salt, and guarded by a considerable force of Bedouin. My muleteer being one of their tribe, I was allowed to pass them unmolested. A little later I came upon an advanced scout hiding behind a heap of stones by the roadside looking out for any signs of soldiers. This store of salt was the result of five days' hard work by the sea-shore. The salt is brought up by hand from the bottom of the shallow pools along the north shore, the Bedouin having to stand in the water and plunge

head and arms into the saturated brine to seize the crystallised masses from the bottom. They were now removing the results of all this labour to their encampment with a view of running it into Jerusalem, and elsewhere, in small quantities at night. I was informed that each sack contained 10 *rotls* of salt, which would sell at less than a bishlik (6*d.*) a *rotl*; there were 19 sacks on the donkeys and 12 on the camels, a total of 31 sacks. The total value of the smuggled goods to the Bedouin thus equalled at most 1,230 piastres, or a little over 11 napoleons. Considering that a single heavy shower *en route* would, by dissolving it, destroy a great part, and that if caught by the soldiers—in sufficient numbers, that is, to deal with them—these people are liable to lose not only their smuggled goods, but also all their camels and donkeys, this does not seem a large sum for which to undergo such labour and risk.

7. A word may be added in conclusion with regard to the animal and vegetable life of this corner of the Dead Sea. The most interesting and characteristic animal of the district is the coney. Both in the *Wâdy Ḳumrân* and in the rocks between *'Ain Feshkhah* and *Râs Feshkhah* there are abundant evidences of their habitations, and on some occasions we have seen them. They are very shy animals, and are never seen except at night or dawn. Then the gazelle is commonly and the ibex occasionally encountered. The names *'Ain Ghuzâl* and *'Ain Ghuzlân*, names of springs in the district, and also the Bedouin name of the mountain just above the *Ḥajar el-Asbaḥ*—the "Mountains of the Ibex"—mark the haunts of these beautiful animals. At sunset the ubiquitous jackal may be encountered on every side. The Bedouin state that wild boar exist in the marshes, and I have seen their footprints. Sand and rock partridges were found abundantly on every visit, and Tristram's grakle, grouse, quail, large owls, storks, flamingoes, hawks, wild duck, rock and wood pigeons, and many smaller birds have been noticed on various occasions. Indeed, this corner of the Dead Sea shore teems with bird life. Reference has been made previously to the fish in the *'Ain Feshkhah* pool and to the more interesting fact of our finding small fish a mile further south actively swimming in the actual waters of the Dead Sea where it is kept diluted by the springs along the shore (see *Quarterly Statement*, 1902, pp. 166 and 406). I have found numerous larvæ of *Anopheles* mosquitoes in one of the brackish pools on the shore.

The reeds and most of the succulent shrubs of the oasis are in most vigorous growth in midsummer. At the end of October they begin to come into flower; they are in full bloom at the end of December, and by early February are yellow and dry. The curious result of this is that the oasis is brightly green and fresh when all the land for miles around is parched and dry, and from the distance looks dull and dry when there is vegetation on the plain and hills around. On nearer view, however, at this time (February–March) the abundant bright flowers (similar to those in the Jericho plain) covering the ground and the waving plumes of the flowering reeds more than compensate for some loss of verdure.

## Report of Fourth Visit to 'Ain Feshkhah.

Although the third visit this year was so late in the season, yet I thought a fourth visit before the summer interval would be interesting, as on the third occasion the level was apparently still rising. As I was unable to leave Jerusalem, Mr. Hornstein kindly went for us. The visit was paid on July 10th. The following are his observations:

*Weather.*—No clouds all day long—a few about sunset. No motion in the air in early morning; slight breeze from east about 7.30 a.m., changing to a strong breeze from south-west at 11 a.m., which dropped in afternoon, and was replaced at 5 p.m. by one from the north; a rosy glow before sunrise.

*Surface of the Sea.*—Smooth, and no white line at all visible in early morning; about 10 a.m. irregular lines of foam running diagonally from north-west to south-east were visible, blown up by south-west wind; in the afternoon the foam was blown up inshore along the north shore.

*Height of Water.*—At Observation Rock, 14 feet 1½ inches—a *fall* of 4 inches since last measurement. At pool, 1 foot 11½ inches—a *fall* of 5 inches.

*Thermometer.*—Air, 82° at 6.25 a.m.; water of 'Ain, 80°, 6.30 a.m.

*Barometric Observations.*—Jerusalem, July 9th, 4 p.m., 27·7; *Khân el-Aḥmar*, July 9th, 8 p.m., 29·4; *'Ain Feshkhah*, July 10th, 6 a.m., 31·4; north end of Dead Sea, July 10th, 2 p.m., 31·5.

*General Observations.* The springs all flowing pretty strong, especially the new spring from the *Haish el-Mukdâm*, which still flows across the path in a volume over a foot deep and about 22 feet wide.

Quantities of rushes lying cut, spread out to dry, for mat making; this is the work of people from *Abû Dîs*. Sand partridges, rock and wood pigeons, wild duck, grakles, and several coneys seen. Mouth of Jordan visited and found as usual, the rumour about a waterfall there being entirely false.

## Report of Fifth Visit to 'Ain Feshkhah.

This visit was made at night, accompanied by Mr. Hornstein, from the summer-holiday camp of his boys' school in the *Wady Kelt*. This is the third year in succession I have made this camp my starting point, thus avoiding a night in the *Ghôr*.

Visit made September 11th. The *'Ain* reached at 6.30 a.m.

*The weather* was fine; clouds (cumulus) scattered over sky all the morning. Coming along the Jericho Plain, under shelter of the western hills, before dawn we encountered a slight intermittent wind from the west or south-west, especially at the mouths of the *Wâdîs*. After day break the south-west wind increased to a steady breeze, which, though we felt little of it, was manifested by columns of dust raised in the centre of the plain south of Jericho. The sea in the early morning very smooth, and when we left was still little affected by the wind.

No white line visible, a few irregular lines of foam where currents from the springs flowed out into the sea. A line also formed when the south-west wind came round *Râs Feshkhah*—where the smooth water of the bay joined the slightly disturbed water outside. A few irregular lines, too, further out in sea. As we left we saw in the distance that the whole length of the north shore was lined by washed-up foam.

The atmosphere was less clear than usual. At sunrise the mountains of Moab were capped by thick dark clouds and quite obscure (as viewed from the *'Ain*); later on the clouds lifted and stood in piled white masses over the mountains, but the outlines of the *Wâdies*, &c., remained somewhat indistinct. A good deal of haze over sea to south-east. We left the *'Ain* before 9 a.m. Later in the day the wind became north-west.

*State of Level.*—A *fall* at Observation Rock of 10½ inches, and at Pool a fall of 8 inches.

*Barometric Observations.*—September 10th, 3 p.m., Jerusalem, 27·6; 8 p.m., Wady Kelt, 30·44. September 11th, 7 p.m., *'Ain Feshkhah*, 31·45.

*General Remarks.*—Springs flowing freely—much more so than last year. This is marked too in *Wady Kelt*, where the stream, which last year terminated not far below the Mills, this year ran down almost to the well-known Convent of Elijah. At *'Ain Feshkhah* the upper spring supplying the Pool was running in good volume—last summer it was dry. The "new" spring rising in *Haish el-Maḳlam* (the one which I have remarked broke out after the earthquake this year) was flowing still. The stream from it, where the road crosses, is 22 feet wide, where last year it was quite dry.

Reeds brilliantly green; oasis from distance looks most refreshing and beautiful. Almost all the reeds south of the Pool for a mile towards the *Râs*—practically up to the Observation Rock—burnt down by the men in charge of the cattle. This area being uncovered for the first time, it is noticeable that the so-called *'Ain en-Nahr* is not one big spring, but a general oozing in the reed-covered marsh—all the little springs uniting into a small stream which enters the Pool just to the inner side of the shingle beach.

Sultan's cattle again at the *'Ain* in great numbers. We encountered three *Abû Dis* men in charge of them; they were collecting reeds for basket work. One of these men had been shooting coneys—a delicacy much appreciated. Sand partridges, storks, hawks, a quail, a large snake, and two field mice—only "beasts" noted. *Abû Dis* men denied the report of there being any wild boars at the *'Ain*, but they confirm what I have stated, that the rocks towards the *Râs* swarm with coneys.

### Report of Sixth Visit to 'Ain Feshkhah.

Visit paid from Jericho October 17th, 1903. *'Ain* reached at 8 a.m.

*State of Weather.* Very hot, close, and still. (Jerusalem suffered from a severe sirocco.) On the way felt occasional puffs of wind from west on passing mouths of *Wâdies*, but returning, what motion there was in the air was from north-east-by-east and east.

Atmosphere brilliantly clear. The hills to the west very distinct in all their details quite an hour before the sun rose. As soon as the sun had cleared the eastern hills the whole east range stood out very clear also. No mist over surface of the water—unless, perhaps, in the extreme distance to the south.

*Surface of the Lake.*—Small wavelets, just enough to make the taking of the measurements a little difficult. That part of the sea which lay opposite to the *'Ain Feshkhah* oasis flecked with irregular lines of foam, but also an irregular and uncompacted line of foam down lake. (The east wind seemed to have driven the foam to the west side of lake, but did not as much as usual blow it into a definite line.) The line much broken at the north end. Later, in afternoon, about 1.30, the white line, as viewed from the hills near the Jericho road, appeared to be more distinct.

*State of the Level of Sea.*—At "Observation Place" a *fall* of 4½ inches since last visit; at "Pool" a *fall* of 5½ inches since last visit. The pool is now very shallow.

*Barometric Observations.*—October 16th, 3 p.m., Jerusalem, 27·75; 8 p.m., Jericho, 31·12. October 17th, 4.45 a.m., Jericho, 31·15; 8.15 a.m., *'Ain Feshkhah*, 31·57; 6 p.m., Jerusalem, 27·8.

*Thermometer Observations.*—October 16th, Jericho, 8 p.m., 82° F.; October 17th, Jericho, 4.45 a.m., 75° F.; *'Ain Feshkhah*, air in shade, 10 a.m., 80° F.; water in middle of 'Ain Feshkhah Pool, 75° F.; water of *'Ain* when it issues (in much diminished volume), 75° F.

*General Observations.*—Reeds in active growth. The patches which last time had been cleared by fire are now covered over with young green sprouts over a foot high.

A good deal of water across path between *Haish el Mekhim* and the general oasis (*see* previous notes). Water of spring (*'Ain en-Nahr*) much diminished, but not nearly so much as last year at this time. All along the shore, between the Pool and the "Observation Rock," the little pools formed about the irregularities caused by the roots of reeds, destroyed by submergence, full of life—small fish and crabs specially noticed.

Sand partridges, a quail, starlings, a great number of Tristram's grakles (in Wâdy Dabr), &c. No one encountered either going or coming back.

## NOTICES OF FOREIGN PUBLICATIONS.

*Revue Biblique*, vol. xii, No. 3.—Séb. Ronzevalle gives an account of some monuments from Gebal (Byblus) and neighbourhood, with a description of an interesting dedicatory inscription to Zeus Hypsistos upon a bust, closely resembling the Zeus Keraunios Hypsistos of Citium. The god M. Ronzevalle identifies with the ancient Molech-Chronos. The same writer also has a note upon the temple of the sun at Ḳaṣṣûba, east-south-east of Gebal. Father Lagrange has a fresh discussion of the inscriptions found at the Temple of Eshmûn at Sidon, and appends an account of the recently-discovered inscription, edited by Dr. Porter in the last number of the *Quarterly Statement* (p. 333). Since the stone actually reads מלך מלך in line 1, and [מלכ[ם is only a restoration, Lagrange ingeniously thinks of Ba'al *Ma-la-gi-e* in an inscription of Esarhaddon, which, on the analogy of other compounds of Ba'al, may be a place-name. The equation כ = *g* is, however, a difficulty. As for the letters תובן צ' at the commencement, he inquires whether ן may not be a mere error. Finally, he hints at fresh inscriptions from Sidon, pending which the difficulties of these royal inscriptions may be held over. Here we may observe that Clermont-Ganneau (*Rec. d'Archéol. Orientale*, § 56; *see* below) considers the possibility of reading in the first line, בן צדק יתנמלך, "legitimate son of Yatanmelek." Max van Berchem reproduces and discusses an Arabic inscription from Banias of the Emir Najm ad-Dîn of the year 1132 (or 1134), and Fr. M. Abel investigates some Greek inscriptions from Gaza, one of which appears to be part of the Imperial Rescript found and described by Mr. Macalister, and discussed at length by M. Clermont-Ganneau in the *Quarterly Statement* (1902, pp. 236, 270 *sqq.*). Fragments of 11 lines remain. An interesting account of the Roman tomb at Bêt Nettif and of the Byzantine church at Yaḥudeh is contributed by M. R. P. Savignac. In the church was found a Greek inscription in mosaic to the effect that the pavement was made by the deacon Silanus under the bishop Theodosius in the 65th year of the 11th indiction. Finally, we may observe that Father Vincent reviews the Fund's latest publication, "Excavations in Palestine during the Years 1898–1900." After a long and interesting notice he sums up the work for the benefit of those who only judge of an enterprise by the actual material results. They are as follows:—(1) The identification of the site of Mareshah and valuable evidence relating to the sites of Gath, Azekah, and Socoh; (2) the definition of the periods of South Palestinian pottery; (3) the discovery of numerous seals, stamps, and intaglios, furnishing important evidence for Hebrew epigraphy; (4) archæological "finds" of the most varied nature,

shedding welcome light upon the civilisation and beliefs of peoples who lived in these districts from before the settlement of the Hebrews down to the Roman period. Finally, the merit of having put all this information within the reach of everyone, remarks the reviewer, is, perhaps, not less than the merit of having disinterred it from the bowels of the earth.

*Mittheilungen des Deutschen Pal.-Vereins*, 1902.—In No. 3 Professor Sellin continues his report of the excavations at Ta'anek, fuller account of which may shortly be expected. Drs. Thiersch and Peters write a preliminary note upon the remarkable graves at Beit Jibrin (see *Quarterly Statement*, 1902, pp. 393 *sqq.*); the complete memoir, with plates and facsimiles of the inscriptions, will be published by the Fund at an early date. In No. 4, Professor Nehring discusses the geographical distribution of mammals in Palestine and Syria, and points out the wide distinction between those of the north and south respectively. The North Palestinian and Syrian mammals are more especially those of the palaearctic region; those of Southern Palestine, particularly in the region of the Dead Sea, are of the "Ethiopic" region (*i.e.*, Egypt, Sinai). A few have affinities with India, Mesopotamia, and Arabia, and a few have passed from one region to the other. The dividing line, Professor Nehring considers, runs from the south border of Carmel to the southern limit of the Sea of Gennesareth. In No. 5, Dr. Blanckenhorn writes upon the mineral wealth of Palestine (*cf. Quarterly Statement*, 1902, pp. 110 *sqq.*), and Dr. Sobernheim gives an account of Samaritan inscriptions in Damascus, notable for the abbreviations in which they are written (*e.g.*, גבור יהוה במלחמיה = גב יה במ). The fourth report of Dr. Sellin's work appears in No. 1, 1903, and announces the discovery of Assyrian tablets of the same class as those found at Tell el-Amarna (*see* below). Dr. Schumacher investigates the topography of the Egyptian high road from the Plain of Sharon to the Plain of Jezreel. In No. 2, Professor Dalman writes upon certain epigraphic remains, including one or two forgeries.

The *Zeitschrift Deutschen Pal.-Vereins*, 1903, contains two important contributions. In Nos. 1 and 2 Ferd. Mühlau edits the account of the Journey in the Holy Land undertaken by Martinus Seusenius in 1602-3. In Nos. 3 and 4 Dr. Peter Thomsen has a learned paper on Palestine according to the *Onomasticon* of Eusebius. The Greek text is fully discussed and emended, and there is a careful account of the sources employed by Eusebius. The material is arranged according to the subject-matter, the various allusions to geographical features being arranged under their several heads, *e.g.*, references to the political divisions, garrisons, populations, roads, and routes, lists of κῶμαι, πόλεις, τόποι, &c. The whole is an eminently scholarly piece of work, and is illustrated by a useful map of the names in the *Onomasticon*, showing the extent of Eusebius's topographical information.

In the *Recueil d'Archéologie Orientale*, tome v, livraisons 22–25, Professor Clermont-Ganneau continues the translation of his note upon the Gate of Nicanor (§ 53), to which he adds the Altar of Kedesh (§ 54), and Mount Hermon and its god (§ 55). Among the *Fiches et Notules* may be mentioned a criticism of M. Abel's Greek inscriptions of Beer-sheba (p. 370), the Θεὸς ἀρεμθηνός (p. 372), from 'Aramta, near Tyre, and a recent Greek inscription from the district of Tyre (§ 58). In an important note upon the mysterious "Hamelielot" of *Les Gestes des Chiprois*, p. 293, he shows that it is to be read "Hain el-ielot," *i.e.*, 'Ain el Jâlûd, the "Well of Goliath" (p. 381). A discussion of two inscribed Phœnician statues in Egyptian style and of the Ptolemaic period is of unusual interest (§ 57), one of the statues being dedicated to "the Lord El." The other is probably in honour of Osiris, and the association of the two deities, as the writer remarks, is extremely remarkable.

*Das heilige Land*, vol. xlvii, part 2.—Heinrich Renard, "Vom Bau der Marienkirche auf dem Sion in Jerusalem," gives a short account with illustrations of the preparations for this building. There is a brief abstract of a description of the geological features of Palestine from a report for Herr Block, of Bonn. In Part 3 there is a translation from *Al-Mashrik* of the testimony of Peter of Sebaste with reference to holy sites, and G. Gatt writes upon the situation of the City of David on the south-western hill.

In the *Orientalistische Litteratur-zeitung* for August Dr. Peiser gives Dr. Hrozný's translation of two tablets unearthed by Sellin at Ta'anach. They are addressed to Ištar-wašur, who was, perhaps, the governor of Ta'anach, by Guli-Addi and Aḫi-Iawi respectively. In the first we read that Šahniša, the governor's daughter, is being brought up in Rubutí, and in course of time she is to be given in marriage. Rubutí is already familiar from the Amarna Tablets, where it appears in connection with Gezer, Gath (*Gimti*), and Keilah (*Kilti*). In the second letter Ahî-Iawi writes that he has been in Gurra; he mentions the name Bûritpi, which Peiser hesitatingly conjectures to stand for Buridya, the Biridiya of Makida (Megiddo); Hurabî of Raḫab is also named. Since Milk-ili is written Ili-milki, and Milkuru is apparently the same as Uru-milki, Peiser ingeniously suggests that Aḫi-Iawi (written Aḫi-ia-mi) = Iaw-aḫi = Ia-pa-ḫi, the prince of Gezer. He points out that the districts mentioned lie in the south, and conjectures that Ištar-wašur may have extended his sway over the places in question.

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Application for Lectures may be either addressed to the Secretary, 38 Conduit Street, W., or sent to the address of the Lecturers.

THE

# PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND.

## NOTES AND NEWS.

WE regret to record the death of Alexander Stuart Murray, LL.D., F.S.A., who was for many years a Member of the General Committee of the Fund. He had been keeper of Greek and Roman antiquities at the British Museum since 1889, and was elected to our General Committee at the Annual Meeting in 1890. He was the author of several important contributions to classical archæology, and was always ready to place at the services of the Fund his great knowledge of Greek epigraphy. Only a few weeks ago he most kindly allowed himself to be consulted with reference to an obscure Greek inscription in the forthcoming account of the Tombs at Marissa. He died on March 5th, at the age of 63 years.

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Mr. R. A. S. Macalister wrote from Ramleh, February 12th, that he was about to make a start again on the Gezer excavations on his return from Egypt, where he had spent some time with Dr. Petrie. On his return to Jerusalem he found that "in addition to the complex system of caves under the east end of St. Anne's Church had been found a curious little chamber with mosaic floor and a wall plastered and painted in wash, but with no special patterns." Père Cré invited him to see it, with permission to publish an account. Père Vincent is writing a notice of it for the *Revue Biblique*.

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The rainy season and other causes reduced last quarter's work at Gezer to little more than six weeks' digging. Good use has been made of the time, however, and a large trench was opened out as a preliminary. Mr. Macalister's brief summary of the

whole work so far accomplished gives the main results in chronological order corresponding to the various occupations of the mound. Each stratum has its archæological characteristics, and by these means we may read the history of Gezer from the palæolithic age down to Byzantine times. There are, of course, many lacunæ, and many details are still necessarily obscure, but the mound has only yielded a fraction of its secrets, and, naturally, the more the funds the more men can be employed, the faster the work will proceed, and the larger will be the proportion of the mound excavated.

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The special donations to the excavations comprise the following:—Mrs. William Caleb Loring, 100 dollars; Lady Lee Anderson, Mrs. Duckett, Rev. Arthur Carr, and Walter Morrison, Esq., £10 each; and smaller amounts, bringing the total up to £596 5*s.* 8*d.* The legacy of £50 19*s.* 1*d.* referred to in the January *Quarterly Statement* (p. 1) was the gift of the late Hon. the Rev. R. T. C. Middleton. Owing to a regrettable slip of the pen the surname appeared incorrectly as Mathieson.

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The chairman, Sir Charles Wilson, is paying a short visit to Palestine to inspect the excavations of the Fund at Gezer. It is hoped that he will be able to visit other sites at which excavation is now in progress under the auspices of other societies.

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Our valued correspondent, the Rev. J. E. Hanauer, has left Jerusalem for Cairo for a short rest. Through the friendly help of Dean Butcher, Brugsch Bey has kindly permitted him to have free access to the Museum, an act of courtesy which will facilitate his studies and research.

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We quote the following interesting paragraph from the *Times* of February 23rd:—

"Mr. John Dickson (British Consul in Palestine) and Mrs. Dickson were presented with testimonials and an illuminated address on the 6th inst. at the British Consulate in Jerusalem. The Bishop in Jerusalem (Dr. Popham Blyth) presided, and in a brief address emphasised the high regard in which Mr. Dickson was universally held and the gratitude which British subjects in the district felt

towards him. Mr. Dickson had recently decided to remain in Jerusalem, declining an offer of promotion with a great increase of salary. The Hon. Selah Merrill, United States Consul, spoke of Mr. Dickson's position among his colleagues as a most enviable one, since they all regarded him as a man of the highest honour, of great discretion, and of the strictest impartiality. Dr. Merrill then read the address, which was signed by 109 contributors. Mr. Dickson feelingly responded. He was particularly glad that his friend of many years, Dr. Merrill, had been asked to make the presentation, and for that expression of the good will of the English residents in Jerusalem and Palestine he and his wife were more than thankful. The address with the accompanying names was beautifully engrossed and illuminated by Miss Elinor Blyth, daughter of the Bishop. The gifts consisted of a solid silver tea service and salver, with a samavar, a gold watch-chain for Mr. Dickson, and a long gold chain for Mrs. Dickson. The committee consisted of Bishop Popham Blyth, the Rev. J. R. Longley Hall, secretary C.M.S. Palestine Mission, the Rev. J. Carnegie Brown, head of the London Jews' Society Mission, Mr. R. A. Stewart Macalister, director of excavations, Palestine Exploration Fund, and the Hon. Selah Merrill."

This recognition of one who has always taken the greatest interest in the work of the Fund is particularly gratifying, and our readers will scarcely need reminding that it is to Mr. Dickson's daughter that they are indebted for the discovery of the Tomb of Micanor, which, with its inscription, was one of the most useful "finds" in Palestinian archaeology and epigraphy of the past year (*see Quarterly Statement*, 1903, pp. 93, 125–131, 326–332).

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A copy of *Altneuland*, the new monthly periodical of the Zionist commission has reached us. It contains much interesting and practical information for settlers in Palestine, together with scientific papers, such as that by Dr. Max Jungmann on "Malaria." We learn that Dr. Dagobert Schönfeld, of Jena, has recently completed a journey through the Sinaitic Peninsula, from Cairo to Hebron. His object has been to study the togography of the Serbâl district, and the route *viâ* Petra and Kadesh-Barnea to Palestine. It is anticipated that the account of his tour will contain important material bearing upon the problems of Sinai and the Wilderness of Wanderings.

In the January number of *Biblia*, Professor Theodore Wright, the American Secretary of the Fund, draws attention to what is becoming a serious question in Palestine. The selling of valuable objects to travellers is increasing, and the readiness with which these pay the large sums which are demanded must result in more strenuous efforts of the natives to obtain such objects by digging for them, by breaking off pieces of sculptured stone, or by stealing them from authorised explorers. If travellers ceased to buy and bring away objects which no one had a right to sell the natives would soon cease their practices. "Already a definite effort to remedy this evil has begun, especially to stop illicit digging," says Dr. Wright, "and there is reason to believe that, by the prompt imposition of severe penalties, the Government of Turkey will grant a favourable co-operation."

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In the same number of *Biblia* we read some particulars of the manuscript treasures which Professor Von Soden of Berlin acquired from Damascus. Among them are Latin letters of Baldwin, King of Jerusalem, and a large collection of Hebrew, Samaritan, Armenian, and Coptic writings. Syriac literature is abundantly represented, "some of the works being palimpsests with Arabic underwritings." (Probably the reverse is meant—Syriac originals covered with Arabic.) Finally, various Greek writings, ecclesiastic and secular (viz., portions of Homer), portions of the Septuagint and New Testament have been found, all in majuscule writing.

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Reports from Palestine show that the rainfall this season has been very scanty, and that of February in Jerusalem has been most unusual. The total for the month was but 1·3 inches against 5·11 inches, which is the mean; indeed, only in 1870 and 1891 were there lower falls. It is to be hoped that in March the mean of the last 41 years—4 inches—will be reached.

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The Annual Meeting will probably be held late in June, and subscribers who desire tickets of admission should send in their names and addresses to the Acting Secretary in advance.

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It may be well to mention that plans and photographs alluded to in the reports from Jerusalem and elsewhere cannot all be

published, but they are preserved in the office of the Fund, where they may be seen by subscribers. Those sent by Mr. Macalister illustrating the excavations at Gezer which are not reproduced in his quarterly report are held over for the final memoir.

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A number of lectures are to be delivered in Scotland and the provinces on the Fund's excavations at Gezer, and it is hoped that where arrangements have not yet been made, subscribers and those interested in the work will communicate through the Local Secretary.

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The attention of subscribers is called to a work by Sir Charles Warren, entitled "The Ancient Cubit and our Weights and Measures." He brings evidence to show that all weights and measures (except those of the metrical system) are derived from one source—the double-cubit cubed of Babylonia.

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The Museum and Library of the Palestine Exploration Fund at Jerusalem have been removed from the room opposite to the Tower of David to the Bishop's Buildings, near the Tombs of the Kings, where the use of a room has been kindly permitted by the Rev. Dr. Blyth, Bishop in Jerusalem and the East. The Museum is open daily, except Sundays, and the Honorary Secretary, Dr. D'Erf Wheeler, will give all information necessary.

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The "Flora of Syria, Palestine, and Sinai," by the Rev. George E. Post, M.D., Beirût, Syria, containing descriptions of all the Phaenogams and Acrogens of the region, and illustrated by 441 woodcuts, may be had at the office of the Fund, price 21*s.*

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The income of the Society from December 21st, 1903, to March 16th, 1904, was—from Annual Subscriptions and Donations, including Local Societies, £568 11*s.* 10*d.*; from lectures, including donations, £49 10*s.* 3*d.*; from sales of publications, &c., £128 16*s.* 9*d.*; total, £746 18*s.* 10*d.* The expenditure during the same period was £591 18*s.* 10*d.* On March 17th the balance in the Bank was £431 9*s.* 2*d.*

Subscribers who have not yet paid their contributions for this year will much facilitate the Committee's efforts by sending their subscriptions, the outgoings on the excavations at Gezer being just now a heavy drain on their funds.

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Subscribers to the Fund are reminded that, whilst the receipt of every subscription and contribution is promptly acknowledged by the Acting Secretary, they will henceforth be published annually, and not quarterly. A complete List of Subscribers and Subscriptions for 1903 will be published in due course in a separate form.

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Subscribers in U.S.A. to the work of the Fund will please note that they can procure copies of any of the publications from the Rev. Professor Theo. F. Wright, Honorary General Secretary to the Fund, 42 Quincy Street, Cambridge, Mass.

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The Committee will be glad to communicate with ladies and gentlemen willing to help the Fund as Honorary Secretaries.

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The Acting Secretary has been engaged upon the preparation of a small photo-relief map of Palestine, on a scale of 10 miles to the inch. It has been made from the large raised map published in 1893, and contains all the principal biblical sites and their altitudes. All the chief topographical features are faithfully reproduced, and students of the Bible will find it an indispensable guide. Fuller particulars may be had on application to the office, where advance proofs may be seen.

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Subscribers and others may be reminded that the new Raised Map of Palestine, constructed from the Surveys of the Palestine Exploration Fund, and other sources, by the Acting Secretary, is ready. It is on the scale of $6\frac{1}{4}$ miles to the inch, and measures 3′ 6″ × 2′ 6″. It has already been used with great success by Professors of Old Testament history, and by teachers in Sunday Schools, and may be especially recommended for large classes of students. Further particulars may be had on application.

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Subscribers will please note that they can still obtain a set of the "Survey of Palestine," in four volumes, for £7 7*s.*, but the price has been increased to the public to £9 9*s.* The price of single volumes to the public has also been increased. Applications should be made to the Acting Secretary.

The price of a complete set of the translations published by the Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society, in 13 volumes, with general index, bound in cloth, is £10 10*s*. A catalogue describing the contents of each volume can be had on application to the Secretary, 38 Conduit Street.

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The Museum at the office of the Fund, 38 Conduit Street (a few doors from Bond Street), is open to visitors every week-day from 10 o'clock till 5, except Saturdays, when it is closed at 2 p.m.

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Photographs of the late Dr. Schick's models (1) of the Temple of Solomon, (2) of the Herodian Temple, (3) of the Haram Area during the Christian occupation of Jerusalem, and (4) of the Haram Area as it is at present, have been received at the office of the Fund. Sets of these four photographs, with an explanation by Dr. Schick, can be purchased by applying to the Secretary, 38 Conduit Street, W.

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Branch Associations of the Bible Society, all Sunday Schools within the Sunday School Institute, the Sunday School Union, and the Wesleyan Sunday School Institute, will please observe that by a special Resolution of the Committee they will henceforth be treated as subscribers and be allowed to purchase the books and maps (by application only to the Secretary) at reduced price.

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The Committee will be glad to receive donations of Books to the Library of the Fund, which already contains many works of great value relating to Palestine and other Bible Lands. A catalogue of Books in the Library will be found in the July *Quarterly Statement*, 1893.

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The Committee acknowledge with thanks the following :—

"Sinaï, Ma'ân, Pétra, sur les traces d'Israël et chez les Nabatéens," avec une lettre-préface du Marquis de Vogüé, de l'Académie Française. From the Authoress, Mme. Sargenton-Galichon.

"Al-Mashrik : Revue Catholique Orientale Bimensuelle."

"Recueil d'Archéologie Orientale." Tome VI, Livraisons 1–5. From the Author, Professor Clermont-Ganneau, M.I. *Sommaire* :—§ 1. Deux chartes des Croisés dans des archives arabes. § 2. Inscription grecque de Palmyre. Wadd., No. 2,572. § 3. Saïda et ses environs d'après Edrîsi. § 4. Une nouvelle dédicace du sanctuaire de Baal Marcod. § 5. Lepcis et Leptis Magna, nouvelles inscriptions. § 6. "Meskin" et lépreux. § 7. Monogrammes byzantins sur tessères de plomb. § 8. Platanos de Phénicie. § 9. Inscription égypto-phénicienne de Byblos (Plate II). § 10. Jupiter Heliopolitanus (Plate I).

*See* further "Foreign Publications," pp. 177 *sqq.*, below.

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For list of authorised lecturers and their subjects, write to the Secretary.

Whilst desiring to give publicity to proposed identifications and other theories advanced by officers of the Fund and contributors to the pages of the *Quarterly Statement*, the Committee wish it to be distinctly understood that by publishing them in the *Quarterly Statement* they neither sanction nor adopt them.

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## Form of Bequest to the Palestine Exploration Fund.

I give to the Palestine Exploration Fund, London, the sum of _____ to be applied towards the General Work of the Fund; and I direct that the said sum be paid, free of Legacy Duty, and that the Receipt of the Treasurer of the Palestine Exploration Fund shall be a sufficient discharge to my Executors.

*Signature* _____

*Witnesses* { _____ _____ _____

NOTE.—*Three Witnesses are necessary in the United States of America; Two suffice in Great Britain.*

# SEVENTH QUARTERLY REPORT ON THE EXCAVATION OF GEZER.

16 *November*, 1903—28 *February*, 1904.

By R. A. Stewart Macalister, M.A., F.S.A.

## § I.—Preliminary.

The Muslim feast at the end of Ramaḍân commenced on December 18th, and I took the opportunity of then breaking up the camp for the rainy season. The daily fast of the preceding month necessarily hindered the work to some extent; in addition to a full hour's rest in the middle of the day, I was obliged to let the labourers away from work, in order to prepare their evening meal, an hour before sunset—on days themselves among the shortest in the year. I was unable to resume work before February 15th, so that this report covers but little more than six weeks' digging.

The work has consisted in the opening of an almost complete 40-foot trench parallel to and adjoining those already laid down on the Eastern Hill. I have not thought it worth while, with this report, to repeat the plan of the surface: with the eighth report it will again be given, brought up to date. The present seems a favourable opportunity to summarise the main results of the whole work in the light of the latest discoveries, correcting some theories which were put forward in earlier reports, and which later investigation has shown to require revision. I have arranged the summary in chronological order, dividing it into sections corresponding with the various occupations of the tell.

There are only three months and a half remaining before the firman lapses, and as I have not yet heard whether the application which has been made for its renewal is to be granted, such a summary seems especially desirable, as it will serve to show the gaps still remaining in our knowledge.

## § II.—Palæolithic Period.

Before the occupation of the mound and its neighbourhood, the hill on which Gezer was subsequently built was a bare rocky knoll,

like those that still stand unoccupied to the south of it. This is shown by the almost complete absence of virgin soil, except in occasional pockets in the rock, under the lowest strata of buildings; these last are erected directly on the rock-surface. Hitherto no reference has been made in this series of reports to the presence of Palæolithic man in the Gezer district: indeed the subject of Palæolithic man in Palestine has as yet hardly been touched upon in print at all.[1] The museum of the Monastery of Nôtre Dame de France at Jerusalem possesses a collection of Palæolithic implements: these, as the printed handbook to the museum states, come principally from the plain of the Beka'a and its neighbourhood, and from the district surrounding El-Bîreh. Chipped flints, unmistakably Palæolithic, are to be found occasionally in the débris of Gezer itself; they were probably solitary specimens picked up and carried into the city at different times. In the fields between the hill and Ramleh, however, they are to be found in sufficient numbers to attest the fact that here was the centre of a population in Palæolithic times. That the hill itself was occupied at this remote epoch there is no evidence.

All other traces of the handiwork of Palæolithic man, as well as his physical remains, have been swept away from the Gezer district.

## § III.—Neolithic Period.

The Neolithic cave-dwellers were the first inhabitants who have left traces of a settled occupation on the hills.

Their *physical character*, as far as it is known, has been described, October, 1902, p. 353[2]; no supplementary information has been obtained on this subject, if we except the rude prognathous head (January, 1904, p. 19), which may be a portrait of their general type.

Their *dwellings* were normally caves, hollowed in the soft limestone of which the hill is formed. About 15 of these have been opened and cleared. The majority were probably natural hollows, such as abound in the hills of the neighbourhood, though most of them were, no doubt, enlarged to adapt them for use. Almost all

[1] I believe that somewhere a report on a Palæolithic cave at the Nahr el-Kelb, near Beirût, has been published. I have not, however, got a reference.

[2] This and similar references are to back numbers of the *Quarterly Statement*.

have a staircase cut in the rock at the entrance—usually so narrow as to admit one person at a time only, and composed of rude steps of about 1 foot tread and 6 inches rise.

This particular cave is the only one displaying toolmarks over the whole extent of its surface. These toolmarks are most instructive. They are short and broad, and all display ridges and irregularities corresponding with grooves in the back and edge of the cutting tool employed. No metal tool would display such irregularities; I have succeeded in making similar marks on the soft rock-face of the cave by means of a wooden wedge trimmed with a flint knife and struck with a stone for a hammer. So rude a method of rock cutting would not be employed after the introduction of metal (the wooden wedges used in the so-called Solomon's quarries and similar excavations belong, of course, to quite a different technique of stone-cutting), and we may safely conclude that the cave antedates the bronze age, and that, when (as sometimes happen) bronze and iron objects are found in the silt filling a cave, such objects have been introduced at a period later than its original occupation.

On the strength of similarity of pottery I have hitherto treated the lowest stratum of the buildings on the hill as belonging to the same people, possibly of a later generation. This view I still hold, but with an important modification. The lowermost stratum is not homogeneous, since the buildings and implements of more than one occupation are mingled together on the surface of the rock. Indeed, throughout the tell, the inter-relations of the strata often form a complicated and delicate problem. The complexities introduced into the super-position of successive towns proceed from three main causes:—

(1) Buildings may have been erected in a later town on space which in an earlier town was empty.

(2) Buildings may have been erected in a later town not (as usual) over the existing foundations of the earlier buildings, but after their complete destruction (*e.g.*, they may have been torn up for wall materials).

(3) Buildings may be erected over the ruins of earlier erections belonging to the same town.

The first two of these causes will produce a "fault," to borrow a geological term; an island, so to speak, of the later town will be

found surrounded by, and at the same level as, buildings of the preceding occupation. The third will not only multiply the number of strata in a perplexing way, but will tend to form an island of an earlier town surrounded by buildings of a later occupation—the second building being raised by the foundations of the first above its true level. In the trench which has been excavated during the last quarter will be found a good example of this complication of strata. At the south end there are six, at the northern end four. The relations of these two sections may thus be exhibited—

| *North End.* | | *South End.* |
|---|---|---|
| A (topmost) | = | (Wanting). |
| B | = | { A (topmost). B. |
| (Wanting) | = | C. |
| C | = | D. |
| D | = | E. |
| (Wanting) | = | F. |

It follows from this that, though there were numerous scattered huts belonging to the cave-dwellers on the surface of the ground, we cannot assign an entire stratum to their descendants, nor can we with certainty divide the Neolithic age into two periods in which caves and huts were used respectively. Possibly this may be so, but probably they were inhabited at one and the same time.

The rude earth rampart, stone-faced (*see* April, 1903, p. 117), surrounding the mound I am now inclined to put back to the date of this pre-Semite occupation. My sole reason for bringing it down to the Amorite epoch was the fact that it was found to be interrupted at one point of its course by a standing stone (October, 1902, p. 323), in which I was inclined to see a monument of the Neolithic tribe enclosed by the later-built Amorite wall. I now reverse the theory, and regard the standing stone as an Amorite monument, which happened to be set up at a spot in the course of the pre-Amorite rampart. This is quite possible, for at the point where the stone stands the rampart is almost completely ruined, and may have been so when the stone was erected. I cannot but feel that it is difficult to imagine a race posterior to the Neolithic people

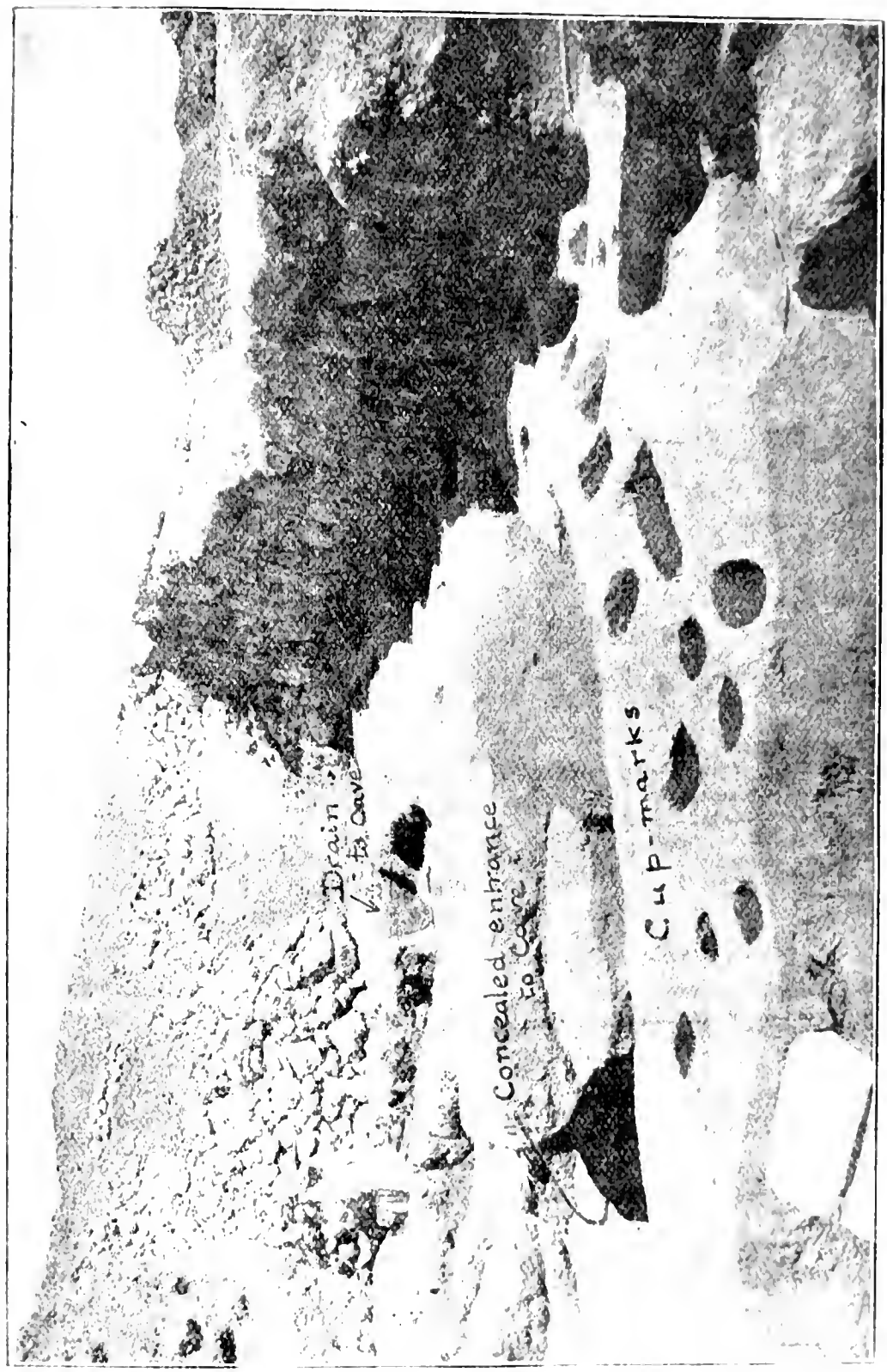


FIG. 1. SUPPOSED HIGH PLACE: FROM THE SOUTH-WEST.

so uncivilised as to be satisfied with this meagre and inadequate fortification.

The *religion* of the Neolithic troglodytes is, naturally, a subject as obscure as it is interesting. Of their actual religious beliefs we may form some idea by analogy with better-known tribes on the same general level of culture. That they were in the matriarchal stage of social evolution is highly probable, and if so we might expect their religious ideas to be those peculiar to that stage: that is to say, the conception of a *ba'al* divinity (to employ, for convenience, Semitic nomenclature) would be either not yet evolved, or inchoate. The comparative scarcity of objects typical of the *ba'al* principle among the cave deposits seems to be corroborative of this theoretical view. That they practised cremation is attested by the discovery of their crematorium, and that they had a belief in the continued *post-mortem* existence of the individual is shown by the number of food-vessels there deposited for the use of the deceased.

That in some way the *cup-marks* were connected with their religious rites, and the *maṣṣêbôth* or standing stones with those of the Semites, *and that these tangible monuments of religion are mutually exclusive*, is the illuminating suggestion of Professor J. L. Paton, the present director of the American School of Archæology at Jerusalem—one only of many valuable helps and hints for which I have gratefully to acknowledge my obligations to him. A number of interesting details seem to corroborate this, the most striking of which is to be seen at the entrance to the crematorium already mentioned. Assuming, as we safely may, that sacrificial or other religious rites took place at interments, at any rate of important persons, at all periods, and assuming the truth of the above-stated theory, we might *à priori* expect to find cup-marks at the mouth of this cave, the relics of the worship of the cremating Neolithic people, and a *maṣṣêbah* the legacy of the Amorites, who, as we know, subsequently used the cave for their own burials. Not only does this prove to be actually the case, but the *maṣṣêbah* is seen to be later than the cup-marks; these were cut in the surface of the bare rock, while it was not erected till nearly a foot of soil had accumulated.

By this and similar considerations, which need not for the present be detailed at length, I feel confirmed in the view which I have always held since the discovery of the extraordinary rock-surface, pitted with cup-marks (October, 1903, p. 317)—that we

have here exposed a place of worship of the Neolithic Aborigines (Fig. 1). This rock-surface is, as a whole, enigmatic enough: but evidence of three separate details may be gathered from it and from the objects found about it. These are:—

(1) Pig-bones found in a cave, most likely indicating pig-sacrifice. If the pre-Semites made a practice of sacrificing pigs, may we not see in this the origin of the intense Semitic feeling against this animal as unclean—a feeling, as Robertson Smith has shown, based on a primitive conception of its being sacrosanct?

(2) A "shoot" leading through the roof of the same cave, admirably adapted for conveying downwards the blood from sacrifices, or other fluid offerings. This certainly seems to indicate the worship of underground deities of some kind.

(3) A secret passage, also to the same cave, cut under a projecting boss of rock that completely conceals it. Possibly this is evidence of the existence of an organised priesthood, practising "tricks of the trade" such as priesthoods have practised among widely different races and religions.

Some remarks may be made on the *daily life* of the troglodytes. The domestic animals that can certainly be associated with them are the sheep, cow, pig, and goat; with less assurance the camel and donkey. The bones of these, and also of such birds as the stork, were fashioned into various implements, especially pins and prickers, probably for perforating skins. Whether wool was spun is a question depending on the explanation of certain stone rings (found in all the strata), usually from 1 inch to 1½ inches in diameter, and with a perforation in the centre about ½ inch across. These may be spindle-whorls; but they may also be rude beads for personal adornment. Nothing else for the latter purpose has been found, if we except highly-coloured cockle-shells of various species, such as abound on the sandy coast at Jaffa. These are nearly all perforated near the hinge of the shell by the action of the sea and the small stones of the shore; the perforation was no doubt utilised for suspension or threading the shells.

Grindstones show that the people practised agriculture of a sort, and were acquainted with the art of corn-grinding. The

rotary grinder is unknown, the rubbing-stone being the variety found. No stores of grain have yet been found in any of the caves.

Water seems to have been boiled in the crude savage way, by dropping heated stones into it. In every cave opened small round stones, each about the size of a man's fist, have been found in considerable numbers, probably to serve this purpose.

Pottery was crude and rough, the vessels being all hand-made, the ware porous and gritty. The shapes are often not ungraceful. The surface is frequently ornamented by burnished lines, by moulded cord patterns, or by washes and lines of colour. The colour is always either reddish brown or white, the latter apparently a kind of limestone cream applied to the surface; it washes off in water.

Flint was, of course, the principal material for implements, and the troglodytes attained great dexterity, unsurpassed by any of their successors, in flaking off fine long and sharp knives from the core. The edges were either left straight, or were chipped into saws, sometimes with very prominent teeth. For the majority of purposes, however, this race were content with very inferior tools, and even in the caves a really fine flint implement is decidedly the exception.

The *historical correlation* of the Gezer troglodytes remains to be considered. Though we cannot as yet definitely connect them with the known races of the Mediterranean, we can say that they are in all probability pre-Semitic. This brings us back to about 2000 B.C., which modern scholarship assigns as the date when the first wave of Semitic immigration swept over Palestine. It is interesting to notice that the excavation of Nippur has shown a change from cremation to inhumation more or less synchronous with the analogous change at Gezer, if this chronology prove correct.

## § IV.—Early Semitic Period.

By the first Semitic invasion from Arabia, about 2000 B.C., the country was peopled with inhabitants whose physical characteristics and many of whose customs can be studied on the living subjects now inhabiting the villages of Palestine. The date of this irruption is probably rather earlier than the approximate year just named. There is no proof that the neolithic people had any communication

with Egypt; on the other hand, as we shall presently see, there is evidence that trade with Egypt was established in Gezer in the time of the twelfth dynasty. This would place the date of Semitic beginnings in Gezer well within the third millennium B.C., from 2400 to 2700, according to the date adopted for the commencement of the twelfth dynasty; and, of course, would push the period of the troglodytes yet further back.

The *bones* of the individuals which have been found in the various deposits and interments have been described, October, 1902, p. 35, January, 1903, p. 50, and October, 1903, p. 322. No material differences are to be detected in the bones of later periods and, as has been shown in the third of the above-quoted reports, the osteology of the modern fellaḥ would probably not display any important deviation from the type established by the excavations.

The village of the modern fellaḥ, again, enables us with tolerable accuracy to reconstruct the architecture of the ancient *houses*. Order, regularity, and all attempts at decoration are entirely absent. The streets are crooked, narrow, and many of them end in blank walls. The first sensation of a visitor to Jerusalem—I speak from my own experience—is a feeling of despair of ever being able to master the intricacies of its thoroughfares, but compared with the bewildering maze of Gezer streets at all periods of the city's history those of Jerusalem are as the rectangular blocks of a modern American city.

A curious point with regard to the streets of the city has been brought out by the coloured map of the excavations, an enlargement of part of which has been prepared for the St. Louis Exhibition. This is the non-permanence of lines of thoroughfares. The plans of the different successive cities display the same general character of a labyrinth of crooked lanes, but they differ entirely from one another in detail. I have been unable to find anything in the nature of an *artery*, a main line of street which persists through various stages of the city's history, retaining the same general position and direction.

As an illustration of the type of house, I submit a plan of a portion of one of the early Semitic cities. This shows better than words the entire lack of design in the plans of the buildings (Fig. 2). They are as artless as the edifices erected by children with toy bricks.[1]

Frequently a row of stones, generally three in number, is found running through the middle of a room. The stones are placed at

[1] A few observations on the plans of the houses will be found, April, 1903 p. 108.

more or less equal distances from each other and from the sides of the room, so that in a chamber, say, 12 feet across, the centres of

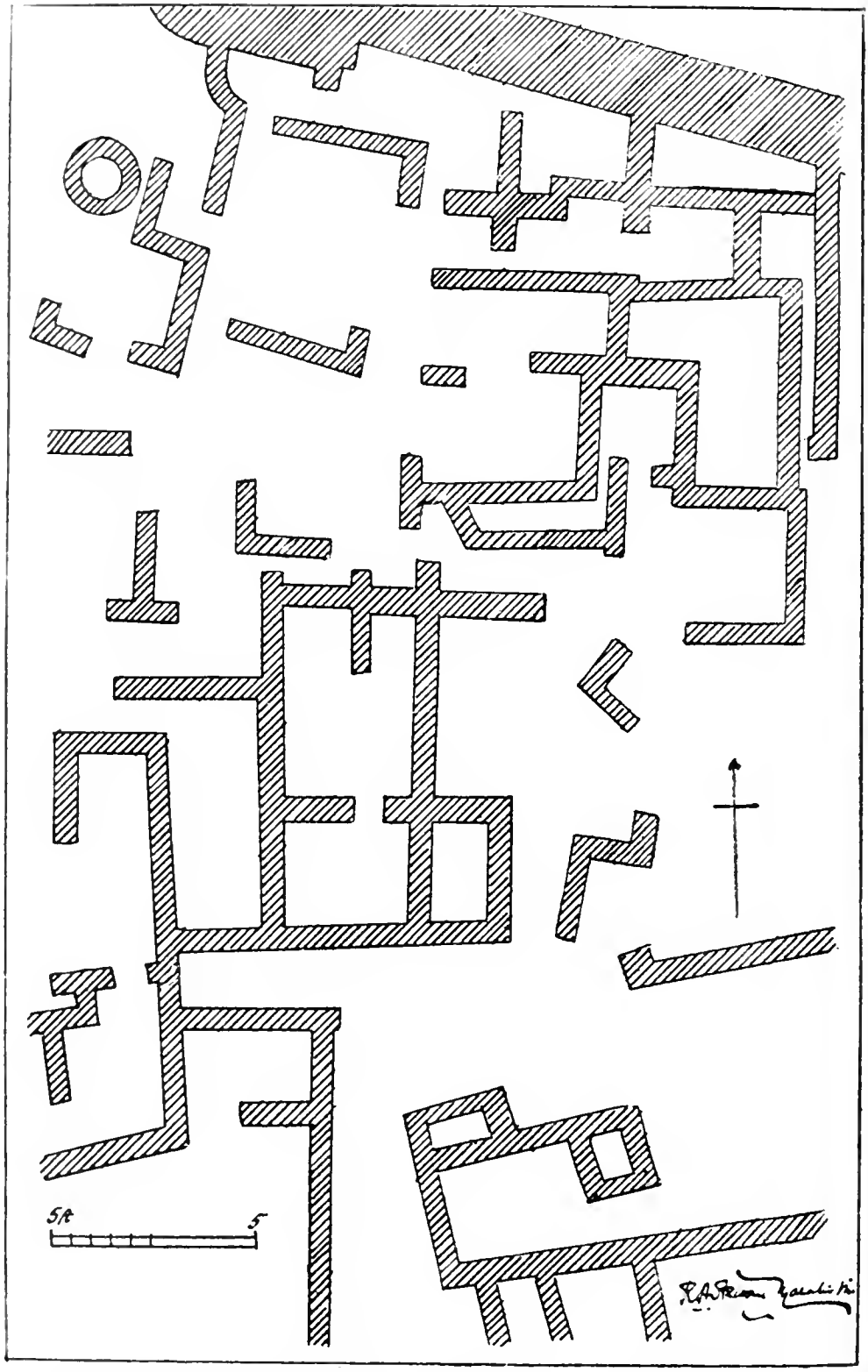


FIG. 2.—SECTION OF THE FIRST SEMITIC CITY, *circa* 2000 B.C.

the stones would be about 3 feet apart (Fig. 3). The stones are generally flat topped, and from 1 foot 6 inches to 2 feet in

FIG. 3.—PORTION OF HOUSE, SHOWING THE ROW OF STONES IN THE FLOOR.

diameter. They are probably the foot-stones of wooden columns which supported a rafter of the roof.

The houses of the modern fellahîn usually consist of two parts—first, an open court with a high wall, entered from the street, round which are ranged dog-kennels, chicken-coops, fuel-stores, or baking oven, and a platform of sun-dried earth with pillars of the same materials at the corners, on which a screen of boughs is erected in the hot months of the year to make a booth or summer house; and, secondly, the private living room or rooms at the back of the court. Some of the larger enclosures which are found in the excavations are probably open courts similar to those in the modern dwellings.

The walls of the ordinary ancient houses are generally from 1 foot 6 inches to 2 feet thick, store-chambers and other small internal rooms having walls not more than 1 foot, and sometimes even 9 inches across. In certain portions of the city, however—notably in the neighbourhood of the Neolithic place of sacrifice above referred to—much more massive walls are found, which probably belonged to some great public buildings. No objects found to give a clue to their purpose.

The *religion* of the people, judging from the character of the votive offerings and the shape of some of the pillars in the great High Place, seems to have had the *ba'al* principle as its primary object. The period of the fourth stratum, however, was one in which the worship of Ashtoreth was the favourite popular cult; this appears from numerous terra-cotta plaques bearing figures of the goddess in relief, which are almost if not quite confined to this particular stratum.

The High Place and its associated rites have been described in detail, January, 1903, p. 23, and July, 1903, p. 219. There is reason for believing that the imposing megalithic structure, as we now have it, is the result of a gradual development, commencing with two small pillars, and gradually enlarging by later additions to the splendid alignment of monoliths that we see to-day. I need not at present go over ground already travelled, so shall say no more about the High Place except that in one detail, and the deductions drawn from it, I find I was mistaken. This is the assigning of the skull found in the temple area (July, 1903, p. 224) to a man of a different race from the inhabitants of the city. In October, 1903, p. 328, this skull is pronounced to be of the same type as the rest.

On the human sacrifices practised by the early Semites enough has for the present been said. It is evident that, besides the

levotion of the first-born at the temple, sacrifices (usually, though not exclusively, of infants) were made sometimes at the foundation of houses. Of the sacrifice of animals at foundation, or of the deposition of symbolical or valuable objects (as in Egypt and Babylonia) I have found no trace. The lamp and bowl deposits belong properly to the next period.

The cistern containing the skeletons of 15 men and a mutilated girl remains as deep a mystery as when first discovered.

Several skeletons have been found through the débris, buried under houses and streets, which seem to have no special connection with foundations. They are probably simple interments, which, as the burial cave has shown, were intra-mural. In the older strata the bones are piled up one on the other, showing that the body was deposited in a squatting attitude; in the later they are stretched at length. The normal attitude of the bodies cast into the burial cave, so far as their injured state permitted of a judgment being formed, was lying on the side, with the knees drawn up to the chin. No doubt they were tied in such an attitude before being deposited in the cave. The bodies deposited in the stone enclosures were, however, stretched out at length.

It is, I think, legitimate to draw a very interesting conclusion from these facts. The two forms of interment coexisting as we find them among the first Semitic inhabitants may reasonably be taken as the result of the working of something analogous to a caste system. The natural tendency being for the lower to assume gradually the manners and customs of the higher, we may consider that the higher caste skeletons are those stretched at length in the burial cave; and their special treatment, with fences of stones built round each group, to separate them from the commoners, thrown indiscriminately into the centre of the cave, indicates the same conclusion. But I can hardly think that a mere caste distinction, in itself, is sufficient to account for so profound a difference of burial customs. Rather am I inclined to see in it evidence of a fusion of races, each with its own practices, at some period long anterior to the occupation of Palestine by the Semites.

The *daily life* of the people was that of an ordinary agricultural community. Bronze was the normal metal (sometimes copper): iron remains absent in the early Semitic strata. They possessed cows (of a zebu breed, if we may judge from the models found), sheep, goats, camels, and donkeys; pigs are not found, nor yet

horses, so far as I can speak definitely. On the whole, the figures of horse-heads seem to belong to the later period.

Undoubted spindle-whorls are found beside the stone rings mentioned in the previous section, suggesting that the stone rings had another purpose. Beads appear, in a great variety of material, shape, and colour, as also metal adornments of various kinds, some of them very tasteful. The safety-pin fibula is introduced and persists to the end. Amulets of various kinds are also commonly worn.

Grain of many varieties was used for food. I have made a small collection of specimens which have been preserved by calcining—the granaries having been burnt. These I hope to have an opportunity of submitting later to a botanist for exact identification—to some, especially among the vetches, I cannot attach the proper name. Corn was ground both with rubbing stones and rotary mills of a rude pattern on which the Gezerites seem never to have improved.

With regard to the pottery, I shall for the present content myself with saying that the types on the "Early pre-Israelite" plates in *Excavations in Palestine* fairly represent the general character, with the exclusion of some of the ruder forms, which are a legacy from the earlier peoples, and with the inclusion of some illustrated under the head of "Late pre-Israelite" in the same series of plates. In the colour decoration of pottery in the earlier times an attempt seems to be made to cover the entire surface, or an entire section of the surface, with decoration so that we get pottery completely overlaid with a series of conterminous bands, straight or zigzag, of various colours, or else bearing birds, fishes, and other devices drawn in broad lines and *with the outline filled in*. In the art of the Israelite period the outlines are drawn with narrow lines, and except with a few narrow strokes are never filled in. I think I have already pointed out the instructive contrast between the bird figures shown in *A Mound of Many Cities*, p. 62, and *Excavations in Palestine*, plate 44.

That the art of writing, in Babylonian cuneiform, was known and practised in Gezer we have the evidence of the Tel el-Amarna tablets, but the entire absence of any analogous objects in the excavated portions of the mound seems to indicate that if practised to any extent the materials used were perishable and have not survived to our day. It has occasionally presented itself to me as

a *possibility* that the royal answers to the messages from Gezer on cuneiform tablets were written in hieratic on papyrus, and carried by a messenger who could read and interpret them to the prince of Gezer; in such a case there would not be the least hope of finding them. Professor Paton has, however, reminded me that writing exercises found among the hoard at Tell el-Amarna prove that cuneiform was not only read but written by the king's scribes, and that we need not, therefore, despair of finding the wished-for despatches in some part of the mound not yet examined.

Kings of the eighteenth and nineteen Egyptian dynasties have records on their monuments of their capture and tenure of Gezer, a record corroborated by scarabs and many other evidences of Egyptian domination. But Egyptian influence is found to have been exercised on Gezer at a much earlier date. The stele found near the High Place has been ascribed to the twelfth or thirteenth dynasty, and about half of the scarabs found belong to the same period—about 700 years before any mention of Gezer is found on Egyptian monuments.

These Egyptian objects do not necessarily indicate that the town was subject to Egypt; but it does prove a very considerable trade and communication between Gezer and Egypt from a very early period. If the imperfect scarab inscribed *Nfr-k*-[*r*ᶜ] could really be ascribed to the seventh dynasty king of that name the beginnings of trade might be put back to the fourth millennium B.C., but the style of the scarab is so evidently twelfth dynasty that the ascription is, to say the last, very doubtful, and in any case a single scarab would hardly be enough to upset the general consensus of evidence that the Egyptian connections with Gezer commence about the time of Usertsen I.

It is a striking fact that little or nothing has been found to tell of trade or communication with the civilisations of Mesopotamia—except, of course, the use of the cuneiform script in the Tell el-Amarna tablets. A few cylinders, probably manufactured locally after Babylonian patterns, are practically the only objects that can be said to relate to the civilisation of the Plain of Shinar.

## § V.—Late Semitic Period.

The late Semitic period commences with the settlement of the Hebrews in Canaan, and ends with the destruction of the Hebrew monarchy.

In treating of the history of Gezer, however, it would be misleading to speak of a "Hebrew" period, for it is very doubtful whether the Hebrews ever held undisputed possession of the city. The older account of the Hebrew immigration—that preserved in Judges i—admits that Gezer was imperfectly occupied by the Israelites; the same admission is made by the author of the book of Joshua. We may, therefore, assume that the Canaanites surviving in the city formed a large proportion, if not the majority, of the population.

Another disturbing element is introduced by the historical references to the Philistines, who are twice mentioned in connection with this town (*see* July, 1902, p. 228).

I have found myself unable to unravel these three strands of population, as mirrored in the objects they have left behind. There is nothing that I can point to as definitely Canaanite, definitely Hebrew, or definitely Philistine. This is especially disappointing in the case of the latter people, about whom I had hoped to be able to learn something from the excavation of a city that for some time at least stood within their territory.

The one contribution which the Philistines have possibly made to the antiquities of Gezer is the introduction of iron. I have no books by me from which I can find whether anyone has interpreted the curious passage, 1 Sam. xiii, 19–22, as being a distorted recollection of the fact that in the time of Saul the coast-dwelling Philistines, to whom the sea was open for trade, were in full possession of iron, while the less civilised Hebrews and other inland tribes were, on the whole, still in the bronze age. Such an interpretation would fit the results of the work at Gezer. The bronze-iron overlap lasts an extraordinarily long time; indeed, bronze is not finally conquered till the period of the Captivity.

Another immense step forward in civilisation taken during this period is the evolution of alphabetic writing. Hitherto nothing has been found but potters' stamps, and these are disappointingly few: the letter *aleph* scratched on a flint, and the letter *nun* scratched on a bone. It is, however, difficult to believe that so large a town has nowhere within its whole area a single lapidary inscription of any sort.

The gradual refinement of religion, the diminution of the crudities so characteristic of the earlier beliefs and practices, and the substitution of symbolism for direct human sacrifice, are also typical advances made during this period.

On the other hand, the standard of comfort, as shown in the design of the dwelling houses, remains pretty much as it had been. Art, such as it was, makes no progress—if anything, there is a distinct decline in taste shown in the shape and decoration of pottery. There is no sudden step taken either forwards or backwards synchronously with the Hebrew conquest of the country. The Hebrews of Gezer settled among the Canaanites, learnt their ways, manners, and customs, and followed them as their own. This is strictly in accordance with the historical record.

I have already hinted that one result of the excavation will be to modify certain details of the views held as to the chronology of pottery. Speaking in general, the pottery hitherto called "late pre-Israelite" will now have to be called "transitional," as it belongs to the overlap between Amorite and Hebrew, or early and late Semitic, culture; while that called "Jewish" is on the whole not earlier than the divided monarchy, and some of it is probably post-exilic.

The result of these modifications will be to compel the revision of certain statements which, soon after the beginning of the work, I put forward respecting the distribution of the population over various parts of the surface of the tell. The Eastern Hill was *not* entirely deserted after the time of Solomon; there are even meagre traces (which have been almost annihilated, probably by fellahîn taking building material away) of a post-exilic occupation at this end of the mound. But the late Semitic population was most thickly concentrated in the centre, and that of the Eastern Hill was at best sparse. I do not think it necessary to withdraw the deduction that the excavation of the Eastern Hill has an important bearing on the narrative of 1 Kings ix, 16 (January, 1903, p. 49).

## § VI.—Post-Exilic Period.

In the post-exilic period we enter a wholly different atmosphere, due to the appearance, for the first time, of the influence of a dominant Aryan civilisation.

It is probable that the inhabitants of the city corresponding to this period would be found to display distinct evidence of mixture if their bones were examined. I have, however, not as yet found any, for the simple reason that a very important sanitary advance has been made, there are no more intra-mural interments. I think

I know where the graves of the period are to be looked for, but have hitherto had no time to examine them.

The houses are better laid out and built, with, on the whole, an attempt at making right angles in the meeting of walls. The stones are well dressed and squared, often as well shaped as a modern brick (Fig. 4). Mud, however, is still universally used instead of mortar. Structures that have all the appearance of being public baths show a greater appreciation of luxury than is to be found in any of the previous cities.

In religion we know from the altar of Eunêlos that the Greek divinities were worshipped by the foreign residents, but that Yahweh-worship had a strong place in the town (October, 1903, p. 313 *sq.*). I hope that the cast I have sent to London will induce someone expert in Judæo-Greek antiquities to turn his attention to the altar of Eunêlos, on which I cannot believe that the last word has been said.

There ought to be a temple somewhere in the mound, erected by the foreign residents. Possibly the volute of an Ionic capital and the coarsely moulded stones, which were found cast in the large reservoir, may come from such a building.

Art never was at a high standard in Gezer, but during this period it reached its maximum level. The pottery is well made and baked, gracefully shaped and decorated with mouldings clearly modelled on Greek patterns.

The regular language of the town was probably Greek, but Hebrew (Aramaic) was both spoken and written. In writing both the Aramæan script (Pottery Stamp, July, 1903, p. 204) and the square character (Stone Graffito, October, 1903, p. 312 ; Boundary Inscription) were employed.

Ptolemaic coins, a few of which have been found, continue to attest the domination of Egypt. Foreign trade is well illustrated by the numerous handles of Rhodian wine-jars which have been found both in the town and in the surrounding fields.

Lastly, a spirit of public enterprise and co-operation is evidenced, for which we look in vain in the earlier periods. Without it the enormous public reservoir in the middle of the city would have been impossible ; and without it the lands of the Gezer community would probably not have been marked out by boundary stones.

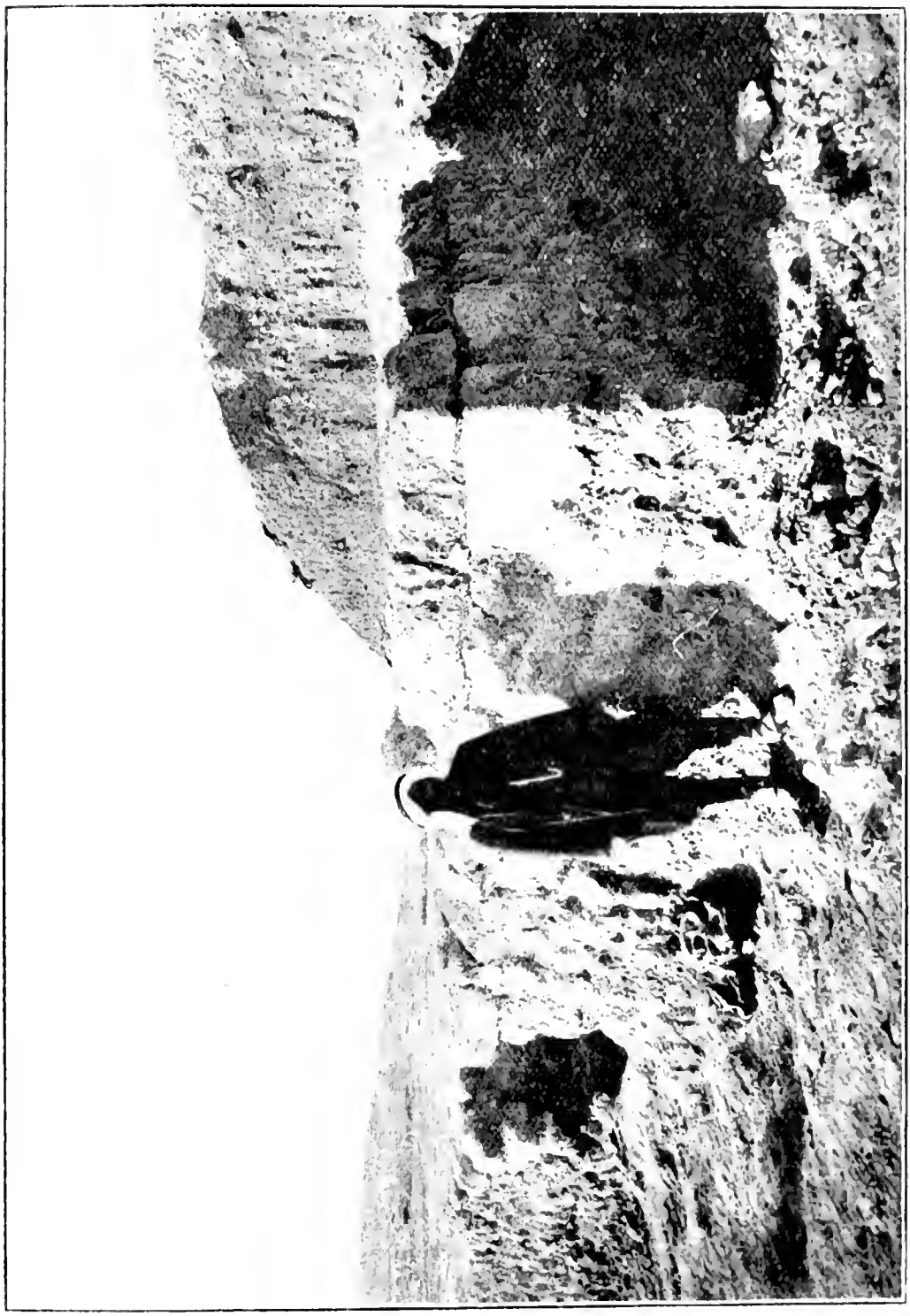

FIG. 4. WALLS OF THE POST-EXILIC PERIOD

## § VII.—The Roman and Later Periods.

After the Ptolemaic, Maccabean, Post-Exilic, or Seleucid period, as it has been variously called, the population moved off the top of the hill which it had occupied for some three thousand years, and settled on the site of the modern village. The causes that led to this transference have been discussed (July, 1903, pp. 216–218).

Of course excavation is impossible, and I must be content with recording the one evidence known to me to exist of the Roman or Byzantine town. This is a fragment of mosaic of white tesserae with a pattern of lozenges in black, each containing at the centre a V-shaped dot in blue filled with red, which is to be seen in the courtyard of one of the native houses.

White Mosaic tesserae are common, lying loose in the fields around, though not often found on the hill surface. There is a mosaic floor under the ground near 'Ain Yerdeh, which I hope to examine later: I expect it will be found to belong to a Roman villa.

The principal hope of finding out something about these later periods lies in the tombs. In the last report I described the re-opening of one of these, and the remains of deposits found within it. During my absence in the winter some of the fellaḥîn of Abu Shusheh took it into their heads to re-open two others. By good fortune one of the trustworthy men from Zakarîya[1] was in the village at the time and stopped them, saying he would inform Surraya Effendi and myself, and so get them imprisoned. The fear of this made them deliver over their plunder as soon as I arrived after the winter. It was, however, annoying, as the tomb was one I had intended to clear out myself, and I am now unable to say how the objects were deposited within it. They consisted of

[1] It is a curious fact that, almost from the first, Dr. Bliss and I found the men of Zakarîya in every way the most satisfactory of the fellaḥîn to deal with—so far as such a testimonial may be worth anything. This does not appear to have been the universal experience. Van de Velde speaks of them with especial opprobrium, and they seem to be very unpopular among the inhabitants of the surrounding villages. When the work at Beit Jibrîn was finished, under the last firman, the fellaḥîn of Zakarîya made a farewell feast for Dr. Bliss and myself in the guest-house of the village. Some remark was made in the course of the meal about our having employed Zakarîya men to dig on the lands of Tell eṣ-Ṣâfi, whereupon an important Sheikh of Beit Jibrîn, who was present, expressed a wish that we had taken all of them there, and that they had all died of the malaria for which Tell eṣ-Ṣâfi is notorious!

bracelets, pins, and nails of bronze and iron, beads in large number and great variety, a very late scarab, some fragments of an iron mail coat, a few pieces of glass all much broken, a small bronze bell, a bronze buckle, and a curious little bronze disc cut to the shape of the outlines of a camel. It is hardly necessary to illustrate these objects before the final report on the necropolis is presented. From another tomb which the same men attacked were taken about twenty lamps of the ordinary Byzantine type and two fragments of ossuaries. The lamps are nearly all of the same pattern, ornamented with radiating lines; one has a "Maltese" cross, so-called, at the base of the spout, and another bears a copy of the same inscription as that on the lamp figured in the last report (January, 1904, p. 24).

The foregoing *résumé* is merely an outline of the work which it has been possible to accomplish during the 20 months that have elapsed since digging began. I have intentionally refrained from overloading it with details regarding such subjects as the classification of flints, beads, and other antiquities, the metrology of weights, the very difficult and elusive problem of the chronology of the three great city walls, and other branches of study for which material has been collected.

The three and a half months that remain I hope to devote, first, to cutting a trench across the western hill, which has not yet been tested at all; and, secondly, to as complete an examination as time allows of the burial-grounds whose locations are known. If, as I hope, the Imperial Ottoman Government will grant the year's extension that the law permits, I shall then be able to devote it entirely to continuing the trenching of the mound, without having to think of and to allow time for the tombs in the surrounding hills. I need not point out that the more men I am enabled to employ the faster will the work proceed, and the larger will be the proportion of the mound turned over.

# THE IMMOVABLE EAST.

(*Continued.*)

By Philip G. Baldensperger, Esq.

## The Fellaḥîn.

The name of the Fellaḥîn is usually derived from the word *falaḥa* (فلّح), to plough or cultivate, from which was formed *fallâḥ* (فلاح) cultivator, and the plural *fallaḥîn*. Whether this is the real origin of the name, or whether it has only been adapted, is not quite certain. Colonel Conder suggests that the word is from Poulains, the Syrian Franks of the Crusaders (*Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem*, p. 209). The formula used by the Franks in the sale of their estates and serfs was "casalia cum omnibus *villanis* et pertinentiis" (*Arch. Crus.*, p. 294), *i.e.*, houses and all the villeins and the belongings. The *v* in villein was pronounced *f*, and became *fillain*, and (possibly) in time the spelling with *ḥ* was introduced to adapt it to *fallâḥ*, cultivator. Now, though the fellaḥ has long ago ceased to be a villein in the crusading sense of the word, he is still as firmly attached to his native soil, and it is a hard task for him to move away from his land, or rather from the very spot where his forefathers lived, died, and were buried. "The *fellaḥ* remains a *fellaḥ*," says the proverb.

The fellaḥ, Abu Aḥmad,[1] has received his share in his father's goods in the shape of a cow and a plough, which he uses about his native village (called *ballad* [بلّد] by him in Palestine and *sayʿat* [صيعة] in Syria, whence it has become Aldea in Spain). The townsman calls the town *ballad*, and the village is called *ḳariat* or *ḳafr* by him. Certainly the word *ballad* was brought along with the nomads from civilisation. In Hebrew a fortified town was called *ḥômâh* (חומה), an unfortified one *ʿîr* (עיר) or *ḳiryah* (קריה), and the village פרז (Hab. ii, 14; Ezek. xxxviii, 11). Consequently the פרזים (Judges v, 7), Perizzites, may have been nothing more than "villagers."

Agriculture is their principal calling, but they have minor industries, which they follow at odd moments and intervals, *e.g.*,

[1] See *Quarterly Statement*, 1903, p. 67.

between sowing and harvest, when agricultural work is not very pressing. They have also certain industries which are not to the taste or convenience of the townsmen or the Bedawy. Thus a Bedawy has always female camels and rears camels for sale only, and the fellah keeps only male camels for his work: a sinful occupation, since the camel carried the Prophet and his followers in the Flight and in their wars, and is among the blessed animals. The thoughtless, unheeding fellah, however, does not stop at such considerations. A camel carries big loads (about 6 700 lbs. weight) to and from the fields, but being very costly to keep, and the barren mountains of Palestine not affording enough food, the owner must buy vetches, *kersannah* (كرسنّة), with which a working camel is fed every evening, and vetch-straw called red straw, *tibn ahmar*. The vetches are broken on a mill (*majrashy*) and soaked, and after an hour or two are placed before the camel, who, kneeling down, either helps itself or gently receives it from the hand of his owner in small balls. The camel very graciously accepts and chews the portion, fondly following with its eyes the movements of its master, who talks to it and gives it pet names, as "young pigeon," or rebukes it if it tries too eagerly to take more than its portion, if a second one may be awaiting its share. Ten to twelve pounds of vetches is considered a good supper; they only receive this once in twenty-four hours. When every grain is consumed straw is brought, and the animal is allowed to eat as much as it pleases.

The camel, with its movable features and soft intelligent eyes, is probably one of the most sensible animals living with man, and here among the natives it forms part of the family. Its exceptionally elastic lips moving in every direction indicate its character, and in its eye the master guesses its intentions. When well kept the camel has a mild character, but being also of a revengeful turn of mind it may wait for an opportunity and take its revenge for any past ill-treatment. A strong camel is very dangerous in spring, and during the roaring season (*hader*, هدر), which lasts four or five weeks, the owner must treat it with great care and often muzzle it, for in its wrath it might kill a person, as during this "mad-season" it remembers all offences committed in the bygone months. It eats very little and during this time often blows out a skin which hangs down as a long tongue from the side of its mouth, foaming and

roaring and curving its long neck serpent-like backwards. If it is very angry and cannot bite it will try to stamp on its enemy. As a rule, they fear and respect their master, but sometimes try to attack him unawares, for in this season the camel is a back-biter and tries to avoid its master's face. A fellaḥ who wanted to test his camel's spitefulness filled his *'abâyeh* with grass to imitate as closely as possible a sleeping man, and went to hide himself in some bushes near by. The camel caught sight of the supposed sleeping man, and rushed at him and began stamping on the mantle, then taking the end began tossing it to and fro. The owner suddenly called to it: "Well! are you not ashamed? Is this the way to treat your master? Shame on your eye!" When the camel found out its mistake and heard its master's voice, it retreated in shame, and refused food for some time to come, but never again tried an attack.

The heavy pack-saddle is called *raḥel*, and is never taken off the camel when it is being worked unless it be to see if the camel is injured. It is only in spring when the camels are sent to pass a month in the green pastures that the saddles are removed. The camel is very delicate and could easily catch a chill if the saddle were taken away imprudently, and on no account can the camel stay out of doors in bad weather. It is then taken into the house, part of which is turned into a stable. As long as a camel is not hurt it will quietly receive the burden, and rise calmly when the order is given. When hurt it will still mournfully bear it, and become quiet only when the load has pressed the wound and benumbed the feeling. A good camel-owner washes and tends the back and keeps it free from wounds. In spring the camels are shorn and anointed with oil and sulphur and sent into the lowlands for repose under the supervision of the Bedawin.

Laban assured Eleazar, when he arrived from Canaan with camels, that he had prepared the house and room for the camels, and as a careful herd-owner he ungirded the camels without taking away the pack-saddles and gave them *teben*, straw, and did not forget the "piled up" food (Gen. xxiv, 31, 32), no doubt the *kersanne*. Then only did he go and give water for the men to wash their feet.

The patriarchs living the bedouin life had camels, but in the cultivated mountains of Judah and Ephraim these would not be very useful, and here asses or mules would be more in evidence. Camels were often brought by travellers who came from afar with heavy baggage (1 Kings, x, 2, and 2 Kings, viii, 9), as the Queen

of Sheba and Ben Hadad, or the Amalekites in the plains, and David himself is said to have had a keeper of the royal camels named Obil (1 Chron. xxvii, 30).

The rocky and often dangerous roads are very fatal, for a slip on these costs the camel its life; having a heavy body and comparatively thin legs, the camel in its fall breaks its leg, and, as it would take several months to heal it, the expense is not worth the cure. Consequently the fallen camel is at once slain, and its flesh is sold to the fellaḥîn of the district. On these occasions the *rotl* (6½ lbs.) fetches about 2 piastres. A fat animal, therefore, which cost £15 or £20, realises about £1 10*s*. or £2 as meat. The camel is therefore led by the halter over rough roads, and at every step the owner calls out "God" or the patron saint which might be revered or known in the neighbourhood.

The camel cannot resist the bridle or halter. This is called *ḳarrâṣât* (قراصاة), and consists of a pair of irons which scratch the cheeks, and under the influence of which the camel goes steadily on. Like all beasts, some camels may be stubborn and refuse to advance, but they are certainly a good deal more submissive, on the whole, than either mules or donkeys, and for big loads in countries where no carriages run are of the utmost utility.

It is very probable that Isaiah refers to the roaring of the camel in chapter xxxvii, 29: "Because of thy rage against me, and thy tumult, I will put my hook in thy nose and my bridle in thy lips, and I will turn thee back by the way by which thou camest." Only a camel is led thus; mules or horses are generally ridden.

The camel is in most cases the support of all the family, doing not only the works of the field and bringing in the harvest, but carrying loads to towns and developing those industries which, however useful to the towns, cause a great deal of damage to the country by destroying the forests. When the driver goes behind his camels as they move slowly along the smooth roads, he cheers them up and talks to them—nay, he even sings to them. This singing is of a wailing character, like all other songs, and has the specific name *ḥdiet* (احدية). Some camels actually wait for the music, and show their satisfaction in the most characteristic manner by bending their long necks and looking round, or by hanging the lips or lifting them up, or even by emitting a wailing kind of noise, a language which is perfectly understood by the driver. How

much the camel is prized in a family is seen by the title "camel of the family" given to a departed member, or the mournful cry "My camel!" which, it is true, may often be mistaken for *jamîl* "handsome." Though so ugly to Western eyes, the camel is in every respect a thing of beauty to the dwellers of the East.

The lime-kilns which are made by the fellaḥin on the mountains are called (اتون) *âtone*, but known only as *lâtone*, the article forming part of the word. As building advances in Jerusalem and Jaffa limekilns are multiplied, forests or bushes disappear. A party of fellaḥîn, eight or ten in number, associate, and for a month or so cut down every piece of brushwood or thorns for miles around and pile them into bundles. When they are sufficiently dry and numerous they are gathered by a long pole, and with a crosspiece of wood to keep it from coming too low are swept into the limekiln. The limekiln is generally built by an expert mason from Bethlehem. For seven or eight days the fire is continually fed by relays of two men who work for half-an-hour or so at a time until the lime begins to show at the top. After having invited friends and relations to assist at the final operations, the limekiln is left to cool down for a few days, and the contents carried away on camels to the nearest town. The lime (*shîd*) is sold by the weight or by the load either in private houses for whitewashing or in buildings. In Egypt lime is called *jîr*.

The same method of making lime was certainly known to the Hebrews. In Isaiah xxvii, 9, the prophet compares the purging of the house of Jacob to the stones taken from the altar to be used as chalkstones (in the limekiln). The word *gîr* which is used here corresponds to the modern Egyptian *jîr*. Further, the prophet compares the destruction of the people in chapter xxxii, 12, to the cutting of the thorns for the limekiln which are to be burned into lime. Here he uses *shîd* the Palestine word for lime. The limekiln, if I am correct, is only mentioned once by the name *attûn*, into which Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego were thrown (Daniel iii, 6).

Another industry, which is slowly exterminating the forests, is charcoal burning and the sale of wood, which is mostly done in the mountains of Ephraim and those of Hebron, to provide Jerusalem and the other towns with fuel. Wood laws prohibiting the incessant destruction of what little is left of the forests have not as yet done

very much to stop the havoc. The most destructive of all men are those who sell roots (*karâmy*) to convents and mills. The smaller wood is turned into coals and a good many more fellaḥîn are employed at the trade. In all these trades the gain is very small, for they have to gather or cut the wood one day, load and carry it to the town the second day, and must often return on the third day. For all this the pay is a mejîdi at the most, *i.e.*, about 3s. for three days' work. With this he must keep himself and his camel, as he seldom owns more than one. The wood and charcoal fellaḥîn do not tend their camels as carefully as the limekiln fellaḥîn, nor do they work as regularly. They only work when they are badly in need of a mejîdi, and being far from their homes they are often exposed to many risks, especially from the weather, as a camel is in greater danger when the road is slippery than at any other time.

The charcoal is sold at about 8s. to 10s. a camel load, which may seem more remunerative, but the burning is a lengthy process, and, if is it not done properly, the charcoal cannot command the price. The wood is thrown into great pits, and when it is half-burned it is covered with earth, stones, and herbs, and after it has cooled down it is sold in large hair sacks.

The same fellaḥîn collect branches of fir trees, strawberry bushes, and carobs. These are for the Jewish Feast of Tabernacles in September, whilst some Christian establishments use them at Christmas.

Stone is more and more in requisition as the towns are continually increasing in size, and though Jerusalem is itself in a stony region the so-called Jerusalem marble (*yehûdy*) is not suitable for the purpose, because it is a very hard stone and does not break at right angles under the strokes of the mason. Good building stone is therefore brought from the immense quarries around Bethlehem, and down the Wâdy 'Artâs to Tekoa and north of Jerusalem. In the plains of Sharon the sandstone employed is found near Jaffa, and is quarried by the townspeople.

The camel owners of Bethlehem and Beth Jâla have had the almost exclusive privilege of carrying loads to Jaffa, as a quantity of work in mother-of-pearl and olive-wood is made in Bethlehem, and thence exported. Their most serious competitors are the villagers of Sharon, and especially the camel-drivers of Ramleh. Being very energetic, they can be relied upon to deliver goods in the shortest

time possible. There is another class of camel-drivers who also go to Jaffa to trade, but they are apt to linger on the road, and are sometimes very crafty, stealing the wares, removing petroleum from the skins and putting in water. They have even been known to take in a tinsmith "on halves" to share in the "profit" and to solder the tin boxes which they have robbed.

Masons and stone-cutters are mostly fellâḥin from Bethlehem or Beth Jâla. The Bethlehemites are said to have learned the art from European masters. Whenever a good mason or stone-cutter is wanted, application is always made to Bethlehem. Hundreds of the men are employed in building at Jerusalem, and remain there all the week, to return only on Saturday afternoons in order to spend the Sunday at home, as they are all Christians.

The mason, *banâ* (بنا) corresponds to the *ḥârâsh eben* of the Hebrews (2 Samuel v, 11); the stone-cutter is also called *ḥajjâr* (حجار), or *ḳassâb* (قصاب), or *dakîk* (دقيق); the common worker is simply *fa'el* (فعل).

The masters, *me'almin* (معلمين), as they call themselves, generally travel to and fro on donkeys, and carry their principal tools in the saddle-bag. These tools include the *'edet* (عدة), a small hammer, *shâḳûsh* (شاقوش), a square to trim the stone, *zâweat* (زاوية), the *mastarin*, or plumb-line: and a leveller called *mîzân* (ميزان).

The water-carriers are chiefly villagers of Siloam, Maliḥa, and Lifta around Jerusalem, who bring in water in two waterskins on their donkeys. In other towns the water-carriers bring it from the well to the town and deliver a skin at a time. But the men of the above-named villages have two or three donkeys each and run or race down to wells or springs, striking, pushing, and beating their donkeys, and up the mountains again, always in a hurry, going thus to and fro some 10 or 15 times a day; the scarcer the water the better their trade, but when there is plenty of rain they join the builders and make themselves busy there. Girls also run after the donkeys when their fathers or brothers are busy filling the tanks at En-Rogel awaiting the return.

The Bethlehemites besides being masons are also workers in mother-of-pearl and olive wood, and they have succeeded so well in making their articles known that there must be few towns which do

not possess some of their products. The wealth they have thus accumulated is proverbial, and Bethlehem may be called the most wealthy town in Palestine, although in their homes the inhabitants strictly retain their fellaḥ character.

At Abû Dîs (ابو ديس), east of Jerusalem, Bêt-dejân, and Yehûdiyeh, in the Plain of Sharon, mat and basket making is carried on. The villagers of Dîs make use of the *dîs* which they get from the Jordan valley, and usually command a higher price (about a mejîdi) than those of Bêt-dejân, where the palm is used. These mats, *ḥaṣṣîret* (حصيرة), are used in almost every house, generally underneath the carpet.

Baskets of different kinds and made of different materials are manufactured in the villages, and have each a different name according to their material. The *ḳuffet* is a small basket made of the rushes which grow in the swamps of the *'Ujeh* and the Crocodile River, where the inhabitants of the villages of the *Futtuḥ* (Bêt-dejân and the others) gather them. The *ḳuffet* is the basket used by builders to carry earth and stones upon the shoulder or on the hip. It answers to the Hebrew *dûd*, and is soft, with two handles by which it can be carried in one hand when empty or only half filled. The *sull* is a round wickerwork basket made in the north of Jerusalem, with two handles, and is used by the women to carry grapes or fruit to the market on their heads. Another kind of round white basket (also called *sull*) is made of the long white or pale stalks of cereals in the plains. These baskets are made by the women, and are to be found in every house. They are used to carry the food to the workers in the field or to store the bread in the house. They have sometimes coloured stalks woven into them. With this *sull* we may compare the Hebrew *sal*. The chief baker dreamt that he had three such baskets on his head filled with the bread (Gen. xl, 16–18), and the Israelites also used it to carry their food (Exodus xxix, 23; Lev. viii, 31; Numb. vi, 15).

The *sabbatet* (سبتة) is a deep and narrow wickerwork basket, it is made in the grape regions to gather the grapes and load them on camels or donkeys, one on each side of the animal. We are reminded of the *salsal* of the grape-gatherers of Jeremiah (vi, 9). The *ḳurtallet* (قرطلة) is a small hamper made also of wickerwork or sometimes of grain stalks. The *ḳadaḥ* (قدح) is smaller and is generally made of stalks. The *ḳafîr* (قفير) is a big palm-leaf

basket, made in Egypt and is used to convey rice to Palestine; it never lasts very long. The *ṭabak* (طبق) is properly a round tray or basket-cover, and is made of stalks by the women. All these stalk-woven articles last almost a generation. The *ṭabak* is used at once as a table and table-cloth, and upon it is placed the food, which is set before the family or guests. It is not unlikely that this flat basket is meant in Deuteronomy xxviii, 5 and 17. In the Gaza district cages are made for the fowls with which these regions abound, these are called *ḳafas*, and correspond to the *kĕlûb* of Jeremiah v, 27. Very often the people of these districts bring their summer fruits in these same cages to Jerusalem, and no doubt this was already customary in ancient times, since Amos saw a basket (*kĕlûb*, cage) of summer fruits (Amos viii, 1).

The fellaḥîn of Ṣurbahel (صربابل),[1] a desert-bordering village between Jerusalem and Bethlehem, gather broken pottery, *ḥamra(t)*, which they bring to Birket es-Sultan, in the Valley of Hinnom, and there crush upon a flat rock with heavy stone rollers. The fine dust is red, as the name indicates, and is used to plaster the cisterns, which, in a city like Jerusalem, where there is no spring water, are so indispensable. The men, women, and children of the above-named village are seen roaming about with their leather bags, gathering potsherds (*shaḳaf*). Born and brought up on Zion, just above the Birket es-Sultan, I have seen much of these inhabitants of Ṣurbahel with their potsherds, and have often wondered whether they possessed anything else besides potsherds. The flat rock, to which I have referred, being at the upper end of the Birket ("pool"), the rain-water which sometimes fills the lower part never rises high enough to disturb them in their work. One imagines that in earlier times, in the flourishing days of the kings of Judah, when the lower Pool of Gihon held water, this same flat rock must have been utilised by, perhaps, the inhabitants of Ṣurbahel itself. Jeremiah, we remember, was directed to go out by the gate Harsith to the Valley of Hinnom (Jer. xix, 2), and with earthen bottle, and before the elders, he crushed the vessel (xix, 10), perhaps on the identical spot. There are no other appropriate places throughout the neighbourhood, and indeed it is necessary to go far down the valley before flat spaces are found upon which to roll the potsherds, and the stone rollers are not easily moved from

[1] Baedeker, Ṣûr Baḥer; Robinson, صور باهل.

place to place. Thus the principal crushing work is always performed in the Birket es-Sultan, and has the advantage of being near the Jaffa Gate, the centre of commerce.

(*To be continued.*)

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# A VISIT TO THE CEDARS OF LEBANON.

(*A Reprint.*)

By E. R. SHAW, B.A.

"The cedars wave on Lebanon,
But Judah's statelier maids are gone."—BYRON.

LEBANON—and its Cedars. These natural objects the mountain and the tree, though in other respects forbidding comparison, possess in a remarkable degree the qualities of majesty and beauty combined; and to many of the writers of the Old Testament furnish types and figures of grandeur, permanence, and loveliness, of which they never seem weary.

Lebanon (the *white* mountain—Mont *Blanc*) is truly a glorious object, which, once seen, can never be forgotten. Its extensive range of lofty peaks (Sunnîn, the highest, is 8,557 feet), gleaming in the sunshine like burnished silver; the long lines of glistening snow stretching down its wild and rugged ravines; its lower slopes with their wealth of foliage—the wild ever-green oak, and the cultivated olive, mulberry, vine, and fig tree; all present a varied series of pictures of rare and exceeding beauty. No wonder that Hosea, when describing Israel as restored to the favour of God, and resting under the divine blessing, should sing:—

"He shall grow as the lily,
And cast forth his roots as Lebanon;
His branches shall spread,
And his beauty shall be as the olive tree,
And his smell as Lebanon."

To the cedars there are upwards of fifty allusions in the Old Testament, and there are two or three in the Apocrypha. In most of these, naturally occurring in the poetical books, the cedar-tree is regarded as an emblem of strength, glory, and prosperity; but there are others, and not a few, which have reference to the durability, fragrance, and general utility of the wood.

And the tree is truly of noble growth. The oak, the terebinth, or "teil tree," and the palm, have each of them a peculiar beauty and grace of their own. But far surpassing these in combined majesty and strength rises the cedar. Striking its roots deep and wide into the soil, its sends forth, at an early period of its growth, strong lateral branches, which, stretching horizontally, and spreading their close-set foliage meadow-like to the sky, soon cover a wide space of ground, and afford abundant shade and shelter. The cedar is ever-green. It chooses for its home, not the lower grounds, but mountain heights some thousands of feet above the sea-level, where, vigorous in the pure and bracing air, it defies alike the heat of summer and the blasts and snows of winter. "The righteous shall grow like the cedar." "His countenance is as Lebanon, excellent as the cedars." "Behold, the Assyrian was like a cedar in Lebanon, with fair branches and with a shadowing shroud, and of a high stature, and his top was among the thick boughs." These are but a few of the many quotations which might be made to show how the beauty and other characteristics of this tree appealed to the minds of the sacred writers.

In former days vast forests of cedar covered the slopes of Lebanon, and might well be regarded as its special glory and beauty. "Lebanon," says the prophet, "is not sufficient to burn." It is not surprising, then, that the destruction of these forests, a calamity in itself, should serve as a figure to portray still greater disasters. Hence we read, "I will prepare destroyers against thee, and they shall cut down thy choice cedars." Again, "Open thy doors, O Lebanon, that the fire may devour thy cedars." And again, "The day of the Lord shall be . . . . on all the cedars of Lebanon that are high and lifted up."

Of this former magnificence all that now remains consists of a few groups, scattered at wide intervals over the mountain. In all of them, with a single exception, the trees are comparatively young and of small size, as in the group near Ma'âsir, which I visited in 1879. One grove, however, is greatly and justly renowned. It stands on the western slope of Lebanon, about 6,300 feet above the level of the sea.

The journey to this famous group of trees is one which comparatively few visitors to the Holy Land undertake. It cannot be made early in the season because of the snow; moreover the grove itself lies altogether out of the ordinary route of travellers.

Leaving with regret the grand and extensive ruins of Baalbec—ruins prehistoric, Greek, Roman, and Saracen, and second in magnificence only to those of Palmyra, our party of three, attended as usual by our dragoman and one servant, set out for our first day's ride to Ainêta, a village at the foot of the steepest part of the eastern slope of the mountain. At first our route lay over a cultivated plain, and we rejoiced in a glorious view of the whole range of Lebanon stretched out before us, the lofty peak of Sunnîn shining conspicuously above the rest. At Dêr el-Ahmar we began to ascend, and soon found ourselves in a region somewhat sparsely covered with dwarf-oak, juniper, and barberry, with here and there a terebinth. But, as we proceeded, the woods thickened and the path grew rugged; and occasionally we had to descend a little, and cross some green and watered valley. But when evening came, and brought us in sight of our tents, pitched at the miserable Maronite village which formed our first resting-place, we had already attained a considerable height.

The next morning we rose at four, and by half-past five were in the saddle. Taking the dragoman and one attendant as before, we left the other servants and the muleteers to strike the tents, and to pack them and the rest of our travelling gear, and proceed with the mules to Yammûnch, where was to be our next camping ground.

The ascent of the mountain was from the first very steep, and tried our horses greatly. Again, as yesterday, we passed abundant oak and barberry, with the addition of a quantity of wild rhubarb, and frequent large patches of rich purple bloom, which I had not time to dismount and examine; and now and then we caught a glimpse of a solitary cedar—gaunt, spectre-looking, and barely alive. After crossing several tracts of snow, still hard and crisp after the night's frost, we reached, at eight o'clock, the summit of the pass, which here forms a comparatively narrow ridge. We were now more than 7,700 feet above the sea-level, and only some 1,000 feet below the highest peaks, which rose to the north and to the south. With one consent we halted for the prospect. Baalbec now lay far below us in the great plain of the Bekâ'a, beyond which rose the long range of Anti-Libanus, a huge wall of mountains which intervened between us and the plain of Damascus, and which terminated southward in the peaks of Hermon. Beneath, on our right, gleamed the little mountain lake of Yammûnch, on

the borders of which we had planned that night to rest. Looking westwards the eye fell on a wide expanse of the blue Mediterranean, on the coast of which Tripoli was distinctly visible at a distance of 20 miles, while between us and the Levant, rolled, as it were in billows, great mountain masses, gradually lessening in height down to the sea-board.

And there, to the right, and some distance below us, on a broad terrace or plateau of the mountain, and standing alone amid a scene of general barrenness and desolation, we descried a dark mass of verdure. This was the object of our quest: it was the ancient grove of cedars.

It took us a good hour and a half of rough descent to reach the trees, which we found, as we drew near, did not occupy quite level ground, but stood in groups on six or seven slight elevations or knolls. They number about 400. It is in a group of some 80, which stand on the south-eastern mound, that are to be found the few remaining representatives of the ancient grandeur of the forest. Of these only 12 are left. These time-honoured trees are not remarkable for height; they rise perhaps 80 feet. This disproportion of height to breadth is, however, a characteristic of this species of cedar. But their trunks are of enormous girth, and the lateral branches, which spring from the parent stem a few feet from the ground, are themselves of huge thickness, and spread to a great distance. One which I measured extended 51 feet from the trunk, and I have no reason to suppose this was the longest. In actual beauty these patriarchs are surpassed by some of the younger growths, but their venerableness is most impressive. Their age—from no satisfactory data, however—has been variously estimated at from 500 years to 4,000 years, the lower figure as obviously insufficient as the higher is excessive.

The cones, which lie upon the flat fan-like branches, take two years to arrive at maturity. Some which I secured on the spot, I have just measured: the largest of these are $3\frac{3}{4}$ inches long and 7 inches in circumference, but I think them above the average in size. Seedlings in large numbers spring up every year, but are destroyed by the goats, flocks of which were until lately allowed to browse on the ground without let or hindrance. But his Excellency Rustem Pasha, one of the most liberal-minded and enlightened that have ever held the post of Governor of the Lebanon, built, during his period of office, a substantial wall

round the grove, and a guardian has been appointed, who exercises a mild surveillance in preventing wanton destruction of the trees. Much mischief has been done in the past by fires recklessly kindled. Maronites, Greeks, and Armenians make an annual pilgrimage to the grove on the Festival of the Transfiguration, and hold mass there, and some few years ago a little chapel was wisely erected for their use.

The Cedar (*Cedrus Libani*) grows readily and even vigorously in this country. I have succeeded in raising several young trees from seed brought home by me in 1881. They receive no shelter except in the severest weather, and it may be that even this protection is not absolutely necessary. Well-grown cedars may be seen in many of the great parks of England. I suppose that, scattered within 20 miles of London, more trees could be found than in the ancient grove itself. The Duke of Northumberland has in the grounds of Sion House the finest group I know. They may be seen on the right in going up the river to Hampton Court. By the courtesy of the Duke's head gardener, Mr. Wythes, I have been permitted to take measurements of some of them, and I have received from him particulars as to their history. The cedar was introduced into Britain in 1680, and the trees at Sion House were planted within two or three years of that date. They are therefore about 200 years old. The trunks of some of the largest trees are, I found, about 18 feet in circumference at 5 feet from the ground, at which height they begin to send forth, as is their wont, great lateral branches. Many of these have been broken off winter after winter by the weight of the snow, which, owing to the peculiar habit of the tree, easily obtains a lodgment on them. The best of the group is the one nearest the river, which, though in the neighbourhood of other trees, stands somewhat apart from the rest of the cedars. It is from 90 to 100 feet high, with branches which sweep the ground and cover a space of 90 feet in diameter.[1]

[1] [From a recent newspaper report it appears that of the four Lebanon cedars introduced into this country and planted in the Old Chelsea Physic Garden in 1683, two, after flourishing for nearly a century, were removed, partly on account of their decayed condition and partly because it was thought that their shade injured the growth of the plants. The historic interest attaching to the two remaining trees was not unappreciated, and when a large branch was blown down in 1846, the Society of Apothecaries used the wood to provide four chairs for their hall.—Ed.]

## "THE STRANGE FINDING OUT OF MOSES HIS TOMBE."

[This curious narrative is to be found in a little book in the British Museum (794. b. 11; 39 pages, 5½ inches by 3½ inches). It was printed at London in 1657, and, by reason of its age and the quaintness of its style and contents, it is interesting enough to deserve reproduction. Most of the names will be intelligible; in Rabbi Salomon Ben Jack, for example, there will be no difficulty in recognising R. Solomon ben Jarchi, familiarly known as Rashi.]

A True and Exact Relation of the Strange Finding out of Moses his Tombe, in a Valley neere unto Mount Nebo in Palestina. With divers remarkable occurences that happened thereupon, and the severall judgements of many learned men concerning the same. Communicated by a person of quality residing at Constantinople to a person of Honour here in England, and by him permitted to be published, for the satisfaction of the Ingenious.—London, Printed by F. G. for Richard Lowndes, at the White Lion in St. Paul's Church-yard. 1657.

### *THE STATIONER TO THE READER.*

*Some flying rumours relating to the subject matter of this insuing discourse may possibly have come to thy eares; for the thing was not done in a corner. But there hath not any perfect narration of it been published, so far as I can learn, in any language. Besides the quality of the persons from whom I have received it, the particular circumstances of places and persons adde very much credit to it, so that it would be absurd to doubt of the truth of it amongst a cloud of witnesses. Thou wilt find such smoothnesse of language joyned with such solidity of judgement in these few pages, that I am confident thou wilt not repent either of thy cost in buying, or thy paines in reading them.*—Farewell.

A Relation from Constantinople, how the Sepulchre of Moses was lately found out at Mount Nebo, and what was done thereupon.

In October, 1655, certain Maronite Christians keeping heards of Goats upon Mount Nebo, otherwise called the Mountain Abarim, they often observed divers of their Goats to stray from them, and not to return in

two or three dayes; and when they did return, they would as often go astray again, and carry other Goats with them: they also observed that the haire of these straying Goats did yield a most odoriferous scent; wherewith they were so highly taken, as they resolved diligently to search their goings out, thereby to learn the true cause thereof. Whereupon some of them on a day, following these erring goats, they brought them to a stupendious precipice, in the bottome whereof lay a most delicious valley, but of small circumference, which some of these Goatherds had seen before, but never could find any means of entrance thereinto, so steep and unaccessible were the inclosing mountains. But at that instant, whether it were by any earthquake lately happening, very usuall in those countreys, or by the decay of the mountains themselves; the rocks on each side had made such shootings into the opening of the valley, as not onely the Goats (one of the best climbing creatures), but even the Goatherds themselves, used to such difficult untrodden paths, found a descent into this almost bottomless valley. Here they refreshed themselves with the verdure of the grass, the sweetness of the springs, and with such course fare as they carried with them in their scrips. About noon, when the Sun ceased to be a comforter, they retired themselves under the shadow of a rock, thinking their Goats would have born them company; and wondering what should become of them, towards evening they espied them coming one by one out of the cleft of a rock, which it seemed to them, had been also shaken by an earthquake: for on the top of it they saw huge massy trees overturned, which by their long growth had so fixed their roots in the clefts of the rock, as with their weighty fall, they tore up much of the foundation whereon they grew. Coming to this cave, and first putting in their heads, there issued forth the most odoriferous savour that could possibly be imagined, and putting in their staves to feel the bottom of it, they found it of no great depth, their staves likewise participating of the perfumes. Herenpon they adventured to enter, and first groping about with their hands and with their staves in this dark place, and after recovering their eyesight, by the light which entred at the passage which gave them admittance, they found the cave to be of a circular figure, and not about twelve foot the diameter. The floor, the sides, and the hollow roof seemed to be more than the work of nature, and yet nothing appeared therein to be the work of man. At their first comming in, hastily crossing over this dark place, they stumbled upon something which lay thwart the middle, and causing their fellowes to stand out of the light, they discovered a materiall which seemed to be a Tomb-stone, and that it lay upon an other which appeared to be hollow, thicker than the uppermost, but of the same figure every way, and curiously joyned or mortified one into the other, without any morter or ciment. It was nine foot in length, and two foot from the ground, being three foot broad, and all plain, saving that at that part which seemed to be the head of it, they felt two knobs, which bunched out in the fashion of horns, and there were letters engraven thereupon, which for want of light, but chiefly of

learning, they could not read. Having satisfied themselves herewith sufficiently, they returned back to their fellowes, who much longed for their coming, and acquainted them with the whole circumstance of their successe, wherewith they were infinitely pleased, especially with the most delicious scent of their apparell. And thinking it a business of more value than to be kept secret, they agreed that one of those who had been an eye-witness of the premisses, should acquaint therewith Mataxat, the Patriarch of the Maronites, whose residence is in a valley of Mount Libanus, called [Kanobeen Kadischa Mir-jam] or the Monastery of S. Mary, who being thoroughly informed of what had happened, and admiring the sweet scent which came from the poor mens garments, otherwise sordid and nasty, he conceived this to be the monument of some person more than humane, and therefore had a longing desire to have gone thither himself, but his great age and the difficulty of the way obstructing his resolution, he gave the charge thereof unto two Priests, who were his Chaplains, men in learning and understanding (especially one of them named Aben-useph, or father Joseph) sufficiently qualified. Who coming to the place by conduct of the Goat-herds, found every thing exactly true, as they had caused it to be related to the Patriarch. And moreover taking lights with them into the cave, they found those knobs which the Goat-herds spoke of, and which stood as it were upon the head of the Monument, to be the similitude of two horns, not much unlike those of a Bull. But that which satisfied their curiosity even to astonishment, was, that seriously viewing the Inscription, which was in the Hebrew character, and Hebrew language, they found it to be in effect [MOSES THE SERVANT OF GOD] with these joyfull tydings carrying with them the transcript of the Inscription, they returned to the Patriarch; who seeing this Inscription, and hearing the relation, was ravished therewith above measure. But the odoriferous scent which proceeded from their garments (which gave a sweeter savor than all the spices of India, or gumms of Arabia could do) made these persons almost venerable in the opinion of men of all Religions, whereof there is store in the Turks dominions. Who hereupon with amazement, began to take notice of this miraculous Invention, far exceeding in their judgement that of the Holy Cross, and some of every sort of them, having first viewed the place, did earnestly endeavour how they might convert it most to their own profit.

And in the first place the Maronites, as the first inventers, petitioned Morat the Bashaw of Damascus, under whose jurisdiction it lies, that they might have the keeping of this holy place. But they being poor, although they had justice on their sides, yet being not able to bribe, the Christians, the Greek and Armenian Churches stept in and offered great present summes and yearly salaries to Morat Bashaw for the keeping of it; especially the latter exceeded, who ingaged, morever, to build a monastery there, which they would fortifie as a Castle, to secure themselves and Pilgrims from the assaults of the wild Arabs, who do grievously infest all those quarters. The Friers Minors of the order of

S. Francis, who reside at Jerusalem, for the entertainment of the Western Pilgrims, offered very largely that they might have it, and that by means of the French Ambassadour residing at Constantinople. But the Jewes (who are very rich, and generally customers and treasurers to the Grand Signior in most of his dominions) struck in with the Mufty and Visier Bashaw, offering great summes of money for the possession of this Sepulchre, alledging that of right it belonged unto them, Moses being their Law-giver and countrey-man, whose laws the Christians did unworthily pervert, abstaining from marriage, being eaters of swines' flesh, and the most detestable Idolaters in the world. That it would adde much unto the Grand Signiors honour, and might be an addition unto his title, that he was Lord of the three famous Sepulchres of the three famous Prophets, viz., of the Prophet Mahomet at Medina, of Jesus Christ at Jerusalem, and lastly of Moses at Mount Nebo. That they did concur with the Musselmans, not onely holding Marriage honourable, but own plurality of Wives and Concubines to be necessary; that they did besides abstain from swines flesh, and were so far from worshipping of any Image, as they held it not lawfull to make any at all. These reasons of the Jews, but chiefly their large bribes, did so prevaile, as in all probability they were likely to carry it. When suddainly and unlooked for the French Jesuits (who have their Colledge at Constantinople) interposed, first by taking off the Grecian and Armenian Christians, by telling them how displeasing this would be to Almighty God, who upon design had hid and buried the body of Moses in such a secret place, to the end that the Jewes should never find his Sepulchre, lest otherwise they might commit Idolatry thereto and worship it. That this Sepulchre being thus found out in this last and worst age of the world, wherein Idolatry rageth, in despite of God's Commandments, who hath more often and more bitterly expressed his detestation thereof than against any other sinne whatsoever, wherefore they meekly advised them to desist in their suite, offering to take off the Latine Church from persisting in their petitions for the Guardianship of the Sepulchre, as also the Maronites, beseeching them with teares that they would not resist the will of God, nor be the means of disclosing his secrets. Hereto they answered, that they thought themselves as fit to keep the Sepulchre as any other whatsoever; but if the other Christians would desist, and that the Jewes might be taken off, they would acquiesce. The credit of the Jesuits took off the Latine Church, and the Maronites being poor, and now in a sort members of the Roman or Latin Church, gave over their suit. The Jews were easily denied their request, not onely because the Turks do detestably hate them, but moreover the Jesuits had cunningly intimated to the Visier Bashaw, how dangerous it might prove to that State to suffer the Jewes (who pretend right to the holy Land by inheritance, and look every day for a call to be restored to their ancient patrimony) to have any command therein: and the fortifying of that place against the insolencies of the Arabs, without which they could not live in safety, and the multitude of Jews who would come to visite

the Sepulchre would very much incourage them to act something not convenient for the Othoman Empire to permit: but their best argument was good round bribes which they gave him. So, in conclusion, Morat Bashaw of Damasco had expresse order, brought him by a Chiaus from the Port of the Grand Signior, to see that the cave of the Sepulchre should be stopped up, and that none, upon pain of death, should approach within certain miles thereof. In pursuance of which order, Morat Bashaw commanded forthwith the Sanzjacks of Jerusalem and of Saphetta, being the nearest Sanzjackries which confine upon the place, to see it performed with diligence, who, in obedience to the Firman sent by the Grand Signior, did execute it accordingly.

### How the Jesuits practiced to steal away the body of Moses, and to carry it into France, and how they were prevented.

If the Jesuits had been as great enemies to Idolatry, and as carefull to observe the will of God, as they pretended, it had been a greater miracle than the discovering of this Sepulchre: but their aim was quite contrary; for no sooner was the nine days wonder over, and the businesse began to be hushed, but they began to put that in practice, which was from the beginning their determination; which in effect was to steal away the body of Moses, and shipping it for France, to place it in their Colledge of le Fleche, whereby they propounded to themselves the gaining of infinite reputation in holiness, besides the accumulation of wealth by indulgences. To effect this (by the means of the French Ambassadour, now wholly Jesuited) letters were directed to the French Consuls residing at S. John de Acre, and at Rama in the Holy Land, whose chief trading there is for Cottons, and who being placed and displaced by the Ambassadour, were close and diligent in executing of his commands; which letters were to this effect, That they should diligently inquire amongst the Emirs and Sheeks of the Arabs (who are petty Princes in those parts, and who in despite of the Grand Signior possesse most part of that countrey) if for a good reward in Dutch Dollers any of them would undertake to assist the Jesuits in conveying of the body either to Acre or to Joppa, and there to put it aboord a French vessel, which should attend them to that purpose, where they should deliver the body with one hand, and receive their moneys with the other. To this the Consuls answered, that upon making a triall hereof, they found the Arabs averse hereunto, not onely for fear of too much provoking the Turk against them, but because of the high esteem they have of Moses, whom they call in their language [Moosa Carym Alla] that is, Moses the righteous of God, yet the Consuls did assure them that there were another sort of people inhabiting those now wild parts; the remainder of those Frenchmen brought in by Godfrey of Bulloigne, who are called Druses, and who have ever since defended themselves in the Mountains against the Turks and Saracens. But they have now lost their Christian Religion, and yet are not good Mahometans neither; retaining the eating of Swines flesh,

which makes them odious to the Turks, who thereupon call them Rafties, that is, Infidels, yet they wear a white Turbant, and neither fearing God, nor obeying man, they conceived them fit for any detestable villany. To these they had imparted the businesse, and were assured to get a considerable number of them, for a good summe of Dollers, part to be paid in hand, the rest when they had finished their work. The Jesuits conceived their business as half done when they heard these tidings, And thereupon with divers French Gentlemen and Merchants, who desired to participate of the honour, they imbarqued at Constantinople in a French vessell bound for S. John de Acre, formerly called Ptolomais, pretending to visit the holy Sepulchre, and the renouned places for sanctity in and near Jerusalem. The wind favoured them so much, as they overshot their Port, and forced them to Joppa, much nearer their Rendezvous than Acre, it being not above forty Italian miles from Jerusalem. At Rama, now called Ramula, they were kindly received by the French Consul, who gave them great assurance of the Druses, and brought them on their way towards Jerusalem, where they were lodged in the Convent of Franciscans. They came thither about Mid-lent, as they designed, having time enough betwixt that and Palm sunday, to work the Father Guardian, and the other Friers to be assistant to their design, and to compact with the Druses both for their reward, and for the time and place of their meeting. For it is to be observed, that the Tuesday after Palm sunday, the Father Guardian with many of his Friers and all Pilgrims that will go, make a journey to wash themselves in Jordan, carrying Souldiers with them for their convoy; and this is once every year and no oftner, unless upon very extraordinary occasion. The business being broken to the Father Guardian, called Padre Gregorio, an Italian by Nation, as were most of the Convent, he did no wayes approve of the business alledging many reasons against it, but principally that their Convent at Jerusalem would thereby be dissolved, and all the Western Christians for ever debarred from worshipping or visiting the holy Sepulchre hereafter. Some thought it was partly out of envy, that the Jesuits should enjoy so great a treasure, who are an order that these Franciscans do not greatly reverence, Howsoever he agreed to hold his accustomed journey, and to keep secret their plot, the Jesuits assuring him, that the Druses should not touch a hair of his head, nor any of his Convent. Now the plot was thus laid, that the Jesuits under colour of carrying victualls and provisions for their journey to Jordan, in which they alwayes lie out some nights, being to visit other places in their return, secretly carried a coffin, fine linnen, and other things, wherein to wrap the body, and good mules for themselves and companions in the plot to ride upon, which they meant should serve them in their flight to the sea-side, where the vessel which brought them being a Polacre of Marcelles attended their design, under colour of taking in Cottons. And lest Joppa should prove no safe port for their retreat, they ordered the Patron or Master of the Polacre, to take them in some few miles to the Northward thereof, at the Castle of Pilgrims, a desolate port at this time,

and therefore the fitter for their purpose. They had likewise ordered the Druses to meet them well armed and horsed near to Jerico, the most confining place to Jordan they knew of; which they so punctually performed, as the pilgrims were no sooner arrived on the bank of Jordan, and ready to ship themselves to enter the river, but these Druses fell upon them with great outeries in the Arabick tongue, the better to delude the Turkish Souldiers, who commonly are yearly assaulted by the wild Arabs, in that very place, and these Druses differing little from the Arabs in habit and feature, the Souldiers took them to be no other, never suspecting the plot, but looked onely to defend themselves, while in the mean time the Druses seised upon the Jesuits and their company, their mules, baggage, and whatsoever they had, not touching the Father Guardian, nor any of his Convent, two onely excepted, namely, Frier Ciprian and Frier Juniper, who being lay-brethren, Frenchmen, and of the plot, they took with them, leaving the Pilgrims half stripped of their clothes. And being advantaged by the benefit of the night which then approached, they forded Jordan (which is easy to do in most places without a miracle, being a River not navigable any where) and by midnight they arrived at the cave of the Sepulchre, being at the foot of Mount Nebo, the top whereof being called Pisgath, which is over against Jerico, from whence God shewed unto Moses all the Land of Promise.

(*To be concluded.*)

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## THE EVIL EYE.

By Ghosn El-Howie, Ph. D., Shweir, Mount Lebanon.

A healthy child, about seven years of age, suddenly fell ill and died. The cause of this, it was said, was the "eye." Long before Deut. xviii was written, a belief existed in this country that certain persons were naturally endowed with the unfortunate power of injuring or killing by the mere look of the eye. Sometimes the look takes effect at once, and leaves no room for remedy, but at other times an opportunity is left for treatment, with the possibility of averting fatal issues. A strong labourer the other day was carrying a heavy bag of sand, a woman saw him, and she "hit him with the eye." He was seized with excruciating pains in the back, but fortunately his friends had time to call in the services of the "charmer," the direct descendant of the professional referred to in Deut. xviii, 11. The treatment was successful, and in two weeks a cure was effected.

Persons endowed with this unenviable power may strike and injure, not human beings only, but even animals, vegetables, &c. Thus, bunches of grapes are said to fall from the vines, columns of hard stone to break asunder at a "stroke" from the eye. Charmers therefore provide, and many people purchase, written charms; these are encased in leather or metal, and are fastened upon their children and property as a protection against the "eye."

The best trees of their kind are seen to be girt about with bands of red dye from the ground upward; this is said to be a power which renders ineffectual the "eye" which may strike such trees. This dye is now procured from vegetable or mineral matter, but I have long suspected that in early ages blood was used in protecting the trees against "the eye," and from considerations of feeling or economy the custom has been changed. Perhaps this may throw light upon the "lamp and bowl groups" from Gezer. We are told that "this liquid most probably was either blood or grape juice, which latter, in toned-down sacrificial rites, often takes the place of blood" (*Quarterly Statement*, October, 1903, p. 306). Now, since these bowls (supposed to have contained blood or grape juice) are found in the foundations of buildings, it may be pertinent to state that some modern Orientals believe that *buildings* are subject to the destructive power of the "eye."

Last year a new house collapsed in Ḥaurân, and it was thought that the owner would fasten the blame upon the builder, and seek to recover damages, but his remark was, "the builder is *ṭaïb* (good), but the *eye* could not be withstood." The fact is well known, moreover, that the natives of Ḥaurân pour blood upon the walls of new buildings as a precautionary measure against possible injury from a supernatural source.

The "locket" or "pendant" with the attached loop for suspension which was found at Gezer (*Quarterly Statement*, October, 1903, p. 303), leads to the remark that as a child I wore a very similar ornament, which was suspended from my neck by a silver chain. Most people, especially the young, wore them. In some cases they were used as purses in which to keep small coins, whilst in others they contained fragments of holy garments worn by holy men, or by men who performed sacred duties. Still others contained fragments of saints' bones, or a piece of the wood of the Cross, or dust obtained from ground adjacent to certain shrines or sanctuaries. Such a *zikhîreh* (زخيرة), among other uses, is employed to ward off

the eye. In this connection it may be added that in the vicinity of Bethlehem there is a cave whose white dust is said to be beneficial to nursing mothers. The question accordingly arises whether these usages may not throw some light upon the "white earth" found in the Gezer *zikhirah*, which is described as a "pendant" or locket.

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# OCCASIONAL PAPERS ON THE MODERN INHABITANTS OF PALESTINE.

By R. A. Stewart Macalister, M.A., F.S.A., and E. W. G. Masterman, F.R.C.S.

## PERSONAL NAMES.

### Introduction.

Among the modern inhabitants of Palestine (males and females; Christians, Jews, and Muslims; townsmen and peasants) the normal appellation of each individual consists of two proper names—one personal, the other relational. These names are both of the same type, and any given name may be either personal or relational; they need not, therefore, be analysed separately. The personal name distinguishes the individual, the relational name defines his family connexions. The relational name may be—

1. *Ancestral*, passing unchanged from father to son through an indefinite number of generations; in which case it is identical with European patronymic surnames. At present the number of relational names of this class is comparatively small, especially among the Muslims, being confined to those indicating the descendants of eminent sheikhs, companions of Muḥammad, and other men of special distinction. But (partly under Western influence) a tendency to stereotyping other relational names is distinctly noticeable, especially among Christians and Jews, and the list of fixed surnames will, no doubt, with time continue to increase.

2. *Patronymic*, derived from the father of the bearer. This is the ordinary class.

3. *Metronymic*, derived from the mother of the bearer. This is rare, and probably denotes special circumstances in each case (*e.g.*, the mother having been left a widow before or shortly after the birth of the child named after her).

4. *Toconymic*, derived from a child of the bearer. This form of name (when derived from a son) has a honorific significance, and for purposes of formal address is very commonly used.

In the first of these classes (sometimes), and always in the fourth, *abu* is inserted between the two names, as *Ahmed abu Ishtaih*,[1] *i.e.*, A., of the family of Abu Ishtaih; or *Muhammad abu 'Abd er-Rahman*, *i.e.*, M., father of 'A. The employment as a form of polite address, of the eldest son's name with a prefixed *abu* (or, in the case of women, with *imm*, mother), is very common, even when the son is a young infant. A man without sons—indeed, an unmarried man—may be addressed in similar terms; the man's father's name with *abu* prefixed is in this case used, implying that if he had a son he would (in accordance with the usual custom) name him after that son's grandfather. The expression, *Abu Ni'mah*, "father of grace," is in some districts (*e.g.*, Damascus), used for a childless man. Should the son die the father still retains his name with *Abu* prefixed as when the son was alive.

The use of a daughter's name is similarly used among Christians and Muslims in the absence of sons, generally with a suggestion of humiliation. A man will sometimes call himself by a daughter's name in the hope that Providence will pity his desolate condition and send him sons. To address a man with sons by a female toconymic would be an insult.

In the second and the third classes the two names are run together in genitive relationship without any connecting substantive. *Muhammad Hasan* and *'Abd el-Hamîd Shaiha* are simply "Hasan's Muhammad" and "Shaiha's 'Abd el-Hamîd," *i.e.*, M., son of H. (the father), A., son of S. (the mother).

A curious and not very common variation of class 2 must be noticed—the distinguishing of females by a name derived from the patronymic by the addition of an adjectival formative. We have notes of three women who gave their names as *Halîliyah*, *Muhammadîyah*, and *Yûsifîyah*, explaining them as indicating their filiation to persons named *Halîl*, *Muhammad*, and *Yûsif* respectively.

The family connexions may be defined yet more closely in the not infrequent case when the combination of personal and ordinary relational names is insufficiently distinctive. Thus, we have noted a case from Abû Shûshah of a man named *'Ali Muhammad 'Aishah*. The common combination 'Ali Muhammad is probably to be found more than once in every village; this individual is distinguished from his namesakes by the addition of the name of his paternal grandmother.

The names of women, as a general rule, are similarly constructed to those of men. Commonly in the towns, but rarely among the fellahîn, they assume posionymic relational names, *i.e.*, names derived from the personal name of the husband. A respectful toconymic formula, employing *imm*, "mother," like the masculine *abû*, is used in the towns, but seldom among the fellahîn. In towns also a childless widow is sometimes addressed as *imm* prefixed to the deceased husband's name.

Occasionally the same name is used, with or without a slight modification in vocalisation, to denote brothers or sisters of a family. This

[1] [*See* the table of transliteration, *Quarterly Statement*, April, 1902, p. 202.]

seemingly unresourceful proceeding is in reality (at least in the case of men) an ingenious device to reduce the apparent number of males in a family, and so to limit Government claims on the family for taxes or for military service. Sometimes the names are modified by diminution; three brothers are living in the village of Zakariya, called respectively *Jabr*, *Jâbr*, and *Jabrîn*, and two sisters in el-Kubâb named *'Aishah* and *'Âyashah*. The latter distinction is almost impossible for unaccustomed ears to catch.

Besides these legitimate names, nearly every person has one or more nicknames. Some of these are official, bestowed on him by the head-men of the village or other Government agents, in order to distinguish the bearer from other persons of the same name. A few are assumed by the bearer himself: others, the majority, are more or less humorous names attached for some special reason by irresponsible associates. There is a good deal of reticence among the fellaḥîn about telling these to strangers, and often it is merely by accident that an inquirer finds that a man whom he has always known as, say, Muḥammad Maḥmûd is spoken of among all his fellows as "the pumpkin," "the fat," or "the sergeant." In the towns there is not so much reserve, and often the nicknames are confessed to with a readiness that is extraordinary considering their frequently unflattering nature.

The nickname of a father sometimes takes the place of his real name in forming patronymics. With a certain class of names this has a very curious consequence. Among the Muslim fellaḥîn one of the commonest types of names is the compound of *'Abd*, "servant," with the name of the Deity or a periphrasis, as *'Abd er-Raḥmân*, "the servant of the merciful." These names, being clumsy, are abbreviated to 'Abd (pronounced as a dissyllable, 'Abĕd) in addressing a person, El-'Abd in speaking of him. When this shortened name is combined in genitive relationship with a patronymic nickname, the apparent meaning is often grotesque. Thus a man named *'Abd-Rubbu*, "Servant of his Lord," living in Zakariya, had a lame father, and he is always addressed or spoken of as *'Abd el-'Raig*, which at first sight seems to mean "the servant of the lame one." A similar anomaly is to be found in the name of a boy of El-Kubâb named *'Abd et-Ṭayârah*, which would be translated "the servant of the toy kite."

It will be noticed that the word *ibn*, "son," is not mentioned above as used in the formation of relational names. So far as we can find, there is but one case in which this word is employed as a mode o address. When a father's nickname is used as a relational name, and that name is of the common type in which *abû*, "father," is used to express the possession of certain features or qualities, as *abu shanab*, "father [owner] of a moustache," then *ibn* is used before the *abû*. Thus one *Ḥasan Diab*, of El-Kubâb, is known to his fellows as *ibn abû'l-ḥanakain*, "son of the father of two jaws," a picturesque way of expressing that his father had an impediment of speech. Female children who inherit a father's nickname of this type retain the *abû*; thus *Faṭmah abû shanab*, "F. [daughter] of the father of a moustache."

In our experience superstitions regarding names are much more prevalent among the Eastern Jews than among the Muslims. Of course, names as a whole are regarded as much more important than among average Europeans. A name suggesting good luck, like *Tûfik*, may, should misfortune later attack the owner, be considered a cause of it. The name of a child that has died is generally considered too unlucky to be transferred to another one born later.

Among the Jews there are several very common beliefs and customs that call for remark. There is a general feeling against any name that might savour of compliment or an assurance of good luck. Such a name may tempt the evil powers to do an injury. Indeed, it is a frequent practice (especially when several children have died) to name a surviving child either after some such animal as "wolf," or even "dog," or to give it a name expressing a (pretended) want of affection. As an example we may mention the name *Maḳṭu'ah* "forsaken" or "cut off." There are two girls known to us possessing this name, whose parents so named them because they had lost several children previously, and were afraid that if any care was professed towards these their last hopes, the Angel of Death would carry them away likewise. In one if not in both of these cases the parents would buy no clothes for the child—all had to be given; and though intensely devoted to their little one, they took good care to hide their affection. Another development of the same idea will cause parents to keep a child unnamed for a year at least, hoping that thus he or she may be unobserved by the powers of evil.

Another even commoner custom is that of changing a person's name in the case of a dangerous illness. Within our knowledge a Spanish Jewess named *Rifḳah* underwent a rather severe operation, and her friends, being anxious about her, assembled a congregation (*i.e.*, ten men), and solemnly re-named her *Mercarda* [Spanish] "bought," the idea being that she was "bought with prayer." When such formal change of name occurs, the new name chosen frequently has reference to "life"; for example, the Jewish names *Meyer* and *Khiem*, or the Arabic *'Aish*, *'Aishah*, *Yaḥyah*, &c. In other cases the name of some Old Testament saint whose life was specially long, such as Enoch, Noah, &c., is chosen. The new name is retained ever afterwards.

It is hardly worth while to refer to the fact common to all, but perhaps most prominent among the Eastern Christians, that a child called after a saint is considered especially under his protection, and that among such Christians the saint's feast-day, the name day of the child, is even more important than the child's own birthday.

The lists of names subjoined to the present paper are derived from the following sources:—

(1) The roll of workmen now or formerly employed in the excavations of the Palestine Exploration Fund, about 200 in number. These are all Muslims.

(2) A long register made in Nablûs, written in Arabic letters, of the names of persons, 90 per cent. or more of whom are Muslims.

(3) A collection, made some years ago in Damascus, of about 3,000 names of Jews exclusively. This collection was unfortunately written in English letters without systematic transliteration, a circumstance which no doubt obscures the meaning of the names in some cases.

Many of the names here catalogued have lost their first significance, having become meaningless family names; in our experience the bearers of old family names are seldom able to give correct information regarding their significance. The classification of some names is necessarily more or less arbitrary when a word has several meanings; we have so far as possible adopted the meaning best known to the uneducated people, rather than the classical significance detailed in the lexicons. Certain words, moreover, are peculiar to the colloquial dialects, and are not to be found in dictionaries. Such colloquial meanings and words are distinguished in the list by the abbreviation *coll.* Except in special cases, the radical meaning of verbs, not the derived meaning, is given for names which are parts of verbs.

The names fall into the following classes :—

A.—Theophorous names: compounds of *'abd*, "servant," or some such word with the name of God, or with a name formed from one of the attributes of the Deity. These names denote consecration to God.

B.—Names of similar type, denoting consecration to an inferior being. The solitary example known to us is 'Abd-Muḥammad, "Servant of Muḥammad."[1]

C.—Names of saints and heroes, especially those connected with religion.

D.—Descriptive names, expressing the possession of personal qualities, naturally by preference the more excellent attributes, and (among females) those which enhance the value of the bearer in the marriage market. Qualities of a sinister character are, however, by no means uncommon, being given either by parents as a means of averting the evil eye, or as nicknames derived from some physical peculiarity, defect, or trait in character.

E.—Territorial names.

F.—Names denoting trades and occupations.

G.—Names derived from parts of the body, animals, plants, food, astronomy, chemistry, clothing and personal ornament, musical instruments, and other objects.

H.—Names connected with the circumstances of the child's birth.

[1] Possibly this unusual name may be a spurious product, like *'Abd el-A'raj* referred to above and formed analogously.

## LIST I.

### Muslim Fellaḥîn from various Villages in Southern Palestine.

*Part I. Personal Names (classified).*

*Class A: Theophorous Names.* Males: 'Abd Allah, "Servant of God"; 'Abd el-Ḥamîd, "Servant of the Praiseworthy"; 'Abd el-Daïm, "Servant of the Eternal"; 'Abd er-Raḥmân, "Servant of the Merciful"; 'Abd er-Raḥîm, "Servant of the Compassionate"; 'Abd er-Razzâk, "Servant of the Apportioner"; 'Abd Rubbu, "Servant of his Lord"; 'Abd el-Muṭallib, "Servant of the Desired"; 'Abd el-'Azîz, "Servant of the Noble"; 'Abd el-Fatâh, "Servant of the Opener"; 'Abd el-Kâdir, "Servant of the Powerful"; 'Abd el-Laṭîf, "Servant of the Pleasant."

Females (none known).

*Class B: Analogous Names denoting Consecration to Inferior Beings.* — Males: 'Abd Muḥammad, "Servant of Muḥammad."

Females (none known).

*Class C: Names of Saints and Heroes* (especially those connected with the Muslim faith). Most of these names belong equally to Class D, being descriptive; their modern application is, however, influenced rather by their historical association than by their meaning. It is sometimes difficult to draw a definite line between different classes of names.—Males: Ibrahîm (Abraham), Isma'îl (Ishmael), Ḥasan, Ḥusain, Aḥmad, Muḥammad, Maḥmûd, Ḫâlid, Ḫalîl ("Friend" = Abraham), Sulaimân (= Solomon), 'Âli, 'Aisa (Esau, Jesus), Mûsa (Moses), Yûsif (Joseph), Yûnus (Jonah).

Females: Ḫadîǧi, Zainab, Sârah, 'Âyashah, Faṭmah, Maryam, Haijar (Hagar).

*Class D: Descriptive Names.* — Males: Amîn.[1] "Faithful"; Salîm, Salâmi, "Secure": Muṣṭafa, "Chosen"; Sâlah, "Pious"; Yaḥyah, "Quickened"; Rashîd, "Well-guided."

Females: Ḥalîmah, "Gentle"; Ḥasnah, "Beautiful": Ḥalwah, "Sweet"; Ḫaḍra, "Green (fresh)"; Dâm el-'Azz, "Noble-blooded"; Raḳîyah, "Charmer"; 'Azizah, "Noble"; 'Azîyah, "Consoler"; 'Alîyah, "Lofty"; Ghâli, "Dear, expensive, precious"; Sa'adah, "Fortunate"; Sarîyah, "Generous"; Ṣabḥah, "Beautiful"; Ṣafîyah, "Bright"; Labîbah, "Intellectual": Na'îmah, "Delicate"; Yamni, "Lucky."

Other descriptive names will be found in Part II (Nicknames).

[1] The name *Amîn* is almost always pronounced *Yamîn*, partly through confusion with *yamîn*, "the right hand," and partly because of the influence of the interjection *yâ*, prefixed to names in vocative address.

*Class E: Territorial Names.*—No personal territorial names are known to us; not infrequently, however, a territorial takes the place of a relational name, especially in the case of a person or family belonging to one village who has settled in another. Examples are: Aḥmad el-Ajjûri, "A. of Ajjur"; Faṭmah el-Akâwi, "F. of Acca"; Ṣabḥah ed-Dibwâni, "S. of Dibwan"; Ḥasan esh-Shamâli, "H. the Northerner"; Maḥmûd el-Maṣri, "M. the Egyptian."

This list might be prolonged indefinitely. With it may be classed—Aḥmad el-Gharbâwi, "A. the Stranger."

*Class F: Trades and Occupations.*—No personal names of this class occur in the present list.

*Class G: Miscellaneous.*—Males: Names derived from animals—Nimr, "Panther."

Females: Names derived from precious or beautiful objects—Faḍḍa, "Silver"; Faḍîyah, "Silvern"; Zahrah, "Flower."

*Class H: Names derived from Circumstances of Birth.*—Males: Month or day of birth—Sha'bân, "the eighth lunar month"; Ramaḍân, "the ninth lunar month"; Ġum'a, "Friday."

Females: Protests against too many daughters—Tamâm, "Filled up."

*Part II.—Nicknames.*

The following is a list of men, almost all from the villages of El-Kubâb and Abû Shûshah, with the nicknames attached to each by their fellows, and the meaning and reason for each name, so far as can be determined:—

| Ordinary Names. | Nicknames. | Meaning and Reason. |
|---|---|---|
| Abd Sariyah[1] .. .. | Ibn abu Ḥnḥn .. | "Son of Abu-Ḥnḥn." His father was called "father of (possessor of) *ḥnḥn*" because he once made an absurd remark to the effect that "If God should give him a ploughshare of Lydd workmanship and a yoke of oxen, and an oxgoad, and a bell hung on each side, the bells would make a sound *ḥn-ḥn* as he turned the cows." Apparently he never heard the last of this foolish speech. |
| Abd[1] .. .. .. | et-Ṭayâra .. | "The toy kite." } Names of his father, descended as patronymics. They both refer to his rapidity of motion. |
| | Zârik .. .. | "A dart." } |

[1] These are theophorous names (*see* Class A) abbreviated in conversation.

| Ordinary Names. | Nicknames. | Meaning and Reason. |
|---|---|---|
| Abd-Allah .. .. | abu 'Armûsh .. | "Father of a grape-stalk." *'Armûsh* is the stalk of a bunch of grapes remaining after all the grapes have been plucked off. It is applied as a nickname to one with rheum in his eyes, a name suggested by comparison with the fragment of grape-pulp adhering to the stalk. |
| 'Abd-Allah 'Abd er-Raḥîm | abu Nimrah .. | "Father of a pantheress": possibly referring to some adventure with such an animal. Analogous names are, abu Daǧaǧ, "father of chickens"; abu Gaḥshain, "father of two donkey-colts"; abu el-Ḥarâdîn, "father of lizards," all of which are known. |
| 'Abd-Allah Mubârak .. | el-'Arîshî .. | "Of el-'Arish," the station on the confines of Egypt. In this case the name is used as a nickname and does not take the place of the relational name. Contrast those persons referred to in Part I of the present list, Class E. |
| 'Abd er-Raḥîm 'Ali .. | abu Ghûri .. | Named after a Bedâwi from the Ghôr whom this person resembled, and who happened to come to the village. |
| Aḥmad .. .. .. | 'Aish .. .. | "Life," possibly on account of an unexpected recovery from sickness. |
| Aḥmad 'Abd-Allah .. | ibn abu Liǧâm .. | "Son of the owner of a rein." Reason unknown. |
| Aḥmad 'Ali .. .. | Shalbak .. .. | "A tangle." Reason unknown. |
| Aḥmad Mansûr .. .. | 1. Ṣarṣûr .. | "A cockroach." Pun on *Mansûr*. |
| | 2. el-Ḫawaǧah .. | The common expression among the fellaḥîn for a person engaged in trade (this person's father frequently traded in seeds). The name is also applied to foreigners, and being generally associated with Jews and Christians, has a derogatory meaning when applied among Muslims to one another. |

| Ordinary Names. | Nicknames. | Meaning and Reason. |
|---|---|---|
| Aḥmad *and* Muḥammad Naufal (brothers). | awlâd el-Ghûl .. | "Sons of the demon (ghoul)." Reason unknown. |
| Aḥmad Sâlim .. .. | 1. Ṣawwân .. | "Flint." } Reason |
| | 2. abu Ḥawal .. | "Father of a squint." } for neither name obvious. |
| Aḥmad abu Ishtâ'ih .. | el-'Âṣi .. .. | "The rebellious." Also applied to a child tardy in birth. |
| | ibn abu Dabûs .. | "Son of the owner of a club." |
| | abu Thamari .. | "Father of my fruit" (?). |
| 'Aisa abu Ishtâ'ih .. | 1. Daḫân .. | "Smoke." |
| | 2. Ḥandarli .. | Meaning unknown. |
| | 3. abu 'l-Ma'lik.. | "Father (owner, user) of tripe." |
| 'Ali .. .. .. | el-Ḳaṭâwi .. | Probably a derivative of *ḳaṭâ*, "grouse." |
| | 'Amish .. .. | "Weak-eyed." |
| | Luhuṭ .. .. | Meaning unknown. |
| 'Ali Ḥasan .. .. | Tshiko (جكو) | Meaning doubtful. It does not sound like an Arabic word. |
| 'Ali Muḥammad .. | Ka'akîrim .. | Meaning unknown. |
| 'Awadi Muḥammad .. | Lasa' .. .. | any stinging insect (flea, scorpion). |
| Ḫalil Muḥammad .. | abu Tîn .. .. | "Father of figs." |
| Ḫalil Ṭâha .. .. | 1. Nashab .. | "To jump." |
| | 2. Danâni .. | Any small buzzing insect. Allusion to his small size. |
| Ḥasan .. .. .. | 1. abu Shindi .. | A *shind* is a frame for keeping a weight from pressing on a loaded camel or donkey. In Turkish, *shimdi* means "now." It is doubtful whether either word can be the true root of this name, which is a family name in the village of el-Kubâb. |
| | 2. abu el-Haradîn | "Father of lizards." Already mentioned. |
| Ḥasan Diab .. .. | ibn abu 'l-Hanakain | "Son of the father of two jaws," a reference to a lisp which his father had. |
| Ḥasan .. .. .. | el-Ṭawîl .. .. | "The tall." Descriptive. |
| Ḥusain .. .. .. | el-Ḥarrami .. | "The tether-stone." Reason unknown. |
| Ḥusain .. .. .. | abu Laban .. | A member of a Zakarîya family who derive their descent from a derwish who on one occasion miraculously provided himself with a dish of *laban*, *i.e.*, curdled milk. |

| Ordinary Names. | Nicknames. | Meaning and Reason. |
|---|---|---|
| Husain abu Nijm .. | el-Mumm .. | *Mumm* is a child's word for "bread." |
| Ibrahim .. .. | es-Ṣawâlḥi .. | "The pious," or some such meaning. |
| Maḥmûd Muḥammad .. | Farfûr .. .. | This is the name of a small bird, often used as a term of affection. In the present case, however, the name is said to be given on account of the person's skill in dancing, imitating the antics of dervishes, &c., the word being derived from *farfara*, "to flap the wings." |
| Muḥammad .. .. | el-Ḳatîl .. .. | "The murderer," probably an allusion to some sinister incident in his life. His wife 'Âyashi is known posionymically by the same nickname. Apparently the absurdity of the juxtaposition of a name derived from *'aish*, "life," and a word meaning "murderer" never strikes any one. |
| Muḥammad Ḥasan .. | abu Shrîḥ .. | A diminutive of *sharḥ*, a chopper. |
| Muḥammad Muṣṭafa .. | 1. Ballûṭ .. | "Oak." This name he assumed himself, to distinguish him from a namesake who worked with him on the Jaffa-Jerusalem railway, and who took occasion of the identity of name to pocket the wages of both. |
| | 2. Barbûr .. | "Nasal mucus." A name often applied to persons whose nose runs frequently. In the present case it may be a coarse pun on the first nickname. |
| Muḥammad Muṣṭafa .. | abu 'l-Ḳawâlîsh.. | "Father of a sickle." A different individual from the last. |
| Mûsa Maḥmûd .. .. | el-Ḥishi .. .. | A kind of jar. |
| Muṣṭafa abu Shindi .. | el-Ḳalâsh .. | A kind of carriage. |
| Salâmi Muṣṭafa.. .. | el-Fâr .. .. | "The mouse." |
| Sa'id Muḥammad .. | abu 'l-Muḥarraǵ | Uncertain (query *muḥarraj*, a diviner?). |
| [Y]amin Ali .. .. | abu Abwâb .. | "Father of doors." Probably *sensu obsceno*. |

Of women, the nicknames are very difficult to obtain. As M. Clermont-Ganneau long ago pointed out, a female anthropologist is needed properly to work the rich material to be found among the fellaḥ women of Palestine. The following have been noted :—

| Ordinary Names. | Nicknames. | Meaning and Reason. |
|---|---|---|
| Faṭmah .. .. .. | eṭ-Ṭarîḳ .. .. | "Of the road." Because born by the wayside. |
| Faṭmah .. .. .. | ez-Zaitûni .. | "Of the olives." A similar reason, because born in an olive grove. |
| Ḥasnah .. .. .. | et-Taḳiyah .. | "The pious." The word also means the skull-cap worn under the ṭarbûsh. |
| Ḥalwah .. .. .. | el-'Ainain .. | "Of the two eyes." No small distinction in this ophthalmia-riddled country. |
| Sârah Muḥammad .. | Darâj .. .. | "Staircase." Reason unknown. |
| Ṣafiyah Muḥammad .. | Ḳarḳûmah .. | "A broken fragment of a jar," in allusion to her singularly small stature. The name is also applied to the last of a family. |
| Ṣafiyah .. .. .. | eṭ-ṭawil .. .. | "The tall." A patronymic, as the adjective is masculine. (*Cf.* 'Ayashi el-Ḳatîl.) |
| Ṣabḥah .. .. .. | Turmus .. .. | "The lupin." Reason unknown. |

These nicknames may thus be classified :—

1. *Descriptive names, referring directly or by allusion to some personal peculiarity or accomplishment:* et-ṭayarah, zârik, abu 'armûsh, abu ghûri, abu hawal, 'amîsh, danâni, abu 'l-ḥanakain, eṭ-ṭawîl, eṣ-ṣawâlḥi, farfûr, et-taḳiyah, ḳarḳûmah, el-'ainain.
2. *Names probably referring to some remarkable or coveted possession:* abu lijâm, abu dabûs, abu thamari, abu tin, abu shrîḥ, abu 'l-ḳawâlîsh, el kalâsh (?).
3. *Names derived from some event or custom of the person's life:* abu ḥuḥn, 'aish, el-ḥawajah, el-'asi (?) abu laban, el-ḳatîl, eṭ-ṭarîk.
4. *Derogatory names:* abu abwâb, abu 'l ma'lik (?), barbûr.
5. *Puns on the real name:* ṣarṣûr.
6. *Names of unknown intent derived from animals and plants:* abu nimrah, abu daġaġ, abu ġalḥain, abu 'l-ḥarâdîn, lasa', el-fâr, turmus, ballûṭ, awlâd el-ghûl.
7. *Names of unknown intent derived from inanimate objects:* shalbak, ṣawwân, daḥân, el-ḥarrâmi, el-mumm, el-ḥishi.
8. *Territorial names:* el-'arîshi.
9. *Names of unknown meaning:* handarli, luḥut, tshiko, nashab, ka'akîrim, shindi, muḥarraj.

(*To be continued.*)

# METEOROLOGICAL OBSERVATIONS TAKEN IN JERUSALEM.

By Adolph Datzi, Jerusalem.

The following tables show the result of meteorological observations taken in Jerusalem, about 2,500 feet above the level of the Mediterranean Sea. They were made at 9 a.m., with the barometer corrected for index error, not for temperature or elevation :—

| Monthly Means, 1902. | Barometer. | Att.* Ther. | Thermometers. Max. | Min. | Dry Bulb. | Wet Bulb. | Rain. Inches. | Days. | Winds. N. | N.E. | E. | S.E. | S. | S.W. | W. | N.W. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| January ... ... | 27·542 | 51 | 50·9 | 40·5 | 46·7 | 45·3 | 8·280 | 18 | 0 | 4 | 6 | 1 | 1 | 9 | 5 | 5 |
| February ... ... | 27·587 | 51 | 62·1 | 47·6 | 56·7 | 54·0 | 1·490 | 3 | 3 | 7 | 2 | 2 | 0 | 4 | 4 | 6 |
| March ... ... | 27·465 | 55 | 61·0 | 45·8 | 54·9 | 53·7 | 1·665 | 11 | 0 | 4 | 5 | 4 | 1 | 4 | 8 | 5 |
| April ... ... | 27·442 | 61 | 70·4 | 52·8 | 63·9 | 62·2 | 1·215 | 7 | 2 | 3 | 6 | 0 | 0 | 5 | 7 | 7 |
| May ... ... | 27·559 | 74 | 81·4 | 61·5 | 73·2 | 65·6 | ... | ... | 9 | 4 | 2 | 3 | 0 | 0 | 6 | 7 |
| June ... ... | 27·486 | 72 | 80·8 | 60·0 | 74·7 | 67·5 | ... | ... | 8 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 8 | 13 |
| July ... ... | 27·452 | 76 | 84·3 | 61·0 | 78·8 | 65·3 | ... | ... | 6 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 4 | 11 | 10 |
| August ... ... | 27·367 | 75 | 87·6 | 66·4 | 79·9 | 65·4 | ... | ... | 8 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 20 |
| September ... | 27·538 | 76 | 91·3 | 67·2 | 80·9 | 64·6 | ... | ... | 6 | 3 | 4 | 3 | 1 | 2 | 5 | 6 |
| October ... ... | 27·623 | 73 | 81·4 | 63·1 | 75·4 | 60·6 | 0·650 | 2 | 6 | 6 | 7 | 3 | 1 | 1 | 4 | 3 |
| November .. | 27·566 | 63 | 65·4 | 52·4 | 60·8 | 51·7 | 6·660 | 11 | 2 | 0 | 1 | 3 | 3 | 9 | 7 | 5 |
| December ... | 27·566 | 51 | 55·9 | 43·6 | 51·4 | 47·8 | 5·550 | 10 | 0 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 11 | 6 | 6 |
| Year ... ... | 27·511 | 65 | 72·6 | 55·4 | 66·4 | 58·9 | 25·510 | 62 | 50 | 33 | 38 | 20 | 8 | 50 | 73 | 93 |

* ... the thermometer attached to the barometer itself.

| Monthly Means, 1903. | Barometer. | Att. Ther. | Thermometers. Max. | Min. | Dry Bulb. | Wet Bulb. | Rain. Inches. | Days. | Wind. N. | N.E. | E. | S.E. | S. | S.W. | W. | N.W. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| January ... ... | 27·589 | 51 | 50·5 | 40·0 | 46·6 | 43·3 | 7·340 | 12 | 0 | 5 | 5 | 0 | 0 | 5 | 4 | 12 |
| February ... ... | 27·600 | 49 | 53·5 | 41·6 | 48·7 | 45·6 | 2·710 | 7 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 9 | 3 | 13 |
| March ... ... | 27·503 | 52 | 58·6 | 44·6 | 53·1 | 48·4 | 3·380 | 13 | 3 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 0 | 4 | 5 | 13 |
| April ... ... | 27·471 | 62 | 71·9 | 53·9 | 61·6 | 55·9 | 0·350 | 2 | 1 | 6 | 2 | 5 | 2 | 6 | 3 | 5 |
| May ... ... | 27·559 | 70 | 81·1 | 60·6 | 75·1 | 59·9 | ... | ... | 1 | 8 | 6 | 2 | 0 | 4 | 2 | 8 |
| June ... ... | 27·487 | 73 | 81·7 | 60·5 | 75·5 | 62·8 | ... | ... | 3 | 4 | 1 | 3 | 0 | 5 | 2 | 12 |
| July ... ... | 27·501 | 74 | 82·7 | 63·0 | 76·7 | 66·4 | ... | ... | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 3 | 6 | 20 |
| August ... ... | 27·436 | 76 | 84·6 | 64·6 | 77·9 | 70·8 | ... | ... | 3 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 5 | 18 |
| September ... | 27·534 | 73 | 82·4 | 61·6 | 75·0 | 66·5 | ... | ... | 3 | 5 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 3 | 6 | 11 |
| October ... ... | 27·607 | 68 | 76·9 | 58·4 | 70·8 | 62·5 | 0·115 | 1 | 1 | 5 | 5 | 2 | 1 | 0 | 4 | 13 |
| November ... | 27·607 | 60 | 64·5 | 50·7 | 60·5 | 54·1 | 1·460 | 4 | 2 | 1 | 11 | 1 | 0 | 4 | 9 | 2 |
| December ... | 27.578 | 55 | 58·3 | 47·2 | 54·7 | 50·4 | 2·660 | 8 | 2 | 7 | 4 | 1 | 0 | 4 | 3 | 10 |
| Year ... ... | 27·491 | 63 | 72·2 | 53·8 | 64·9 | 57·2 | 18·045 | 47 | 20 | 47 | 38 | 16 | 4 | 51 | 52 | 137 |

# DEAD SEA OBSERVATIONS.

*(Continued.)*

By Dr. E. W. Gurney Masterman.

## I.—Note on the North Shore of the Dead Sea.

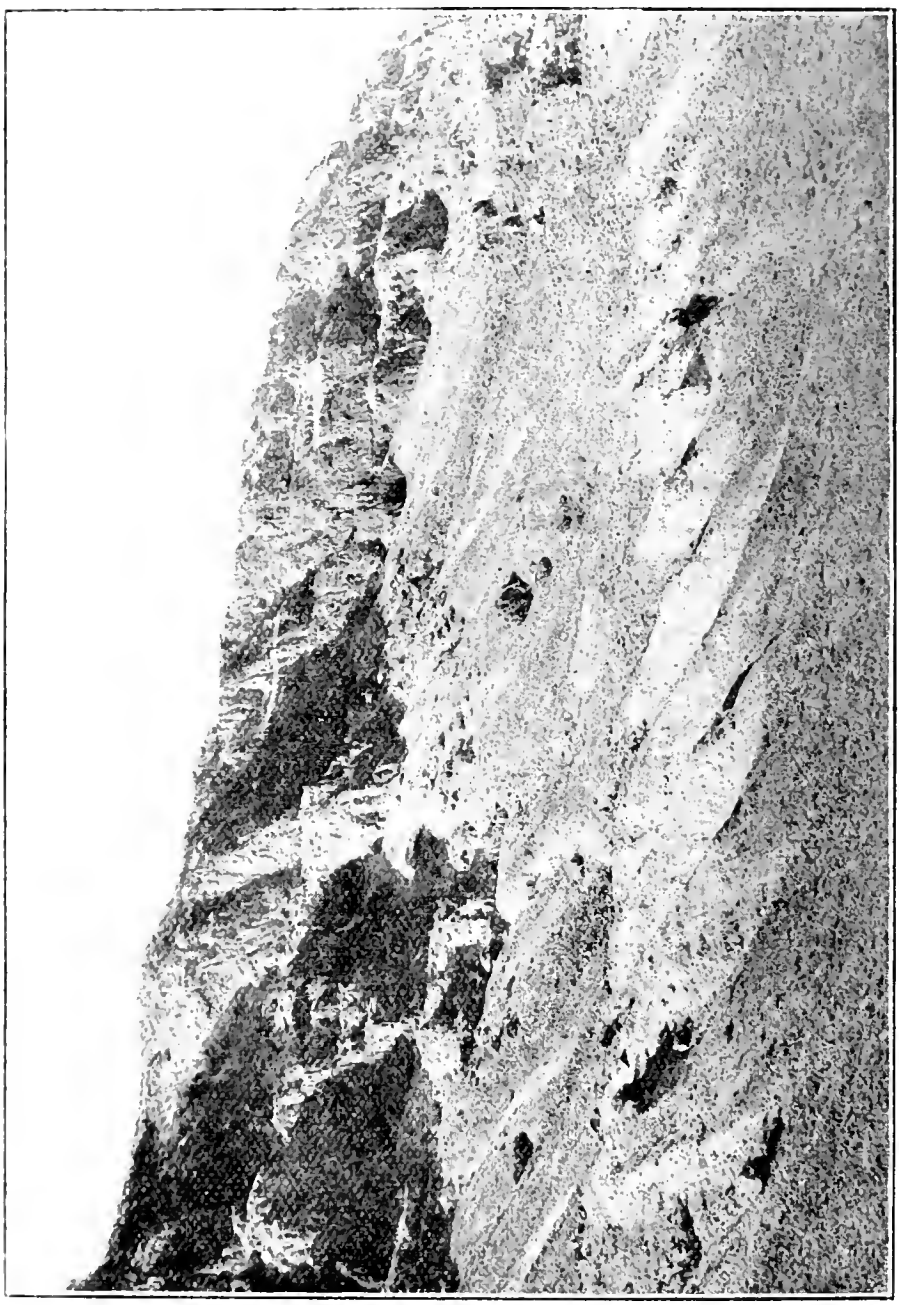
In the January number of the *Quarterly Statement* I gave a summary of the observations made on the seasonal change of the levels of the Dead Sea as directly measured. The space at my disposal did not permit me to notice some physical phenomena at the north shore of the Dead Sea, which, while confirming a rise of level followed by a much more recent and smaller fall, also point to great changes of level at more ancient, though perhaps historical, times.

The first-mentioned *rise* of level is clearly marked at the north shore near *'Ain Feshkhah* by the great quantities of trees and brushwood now standing gaunt and salt-encrusted out of several feet of water. It is true that some of these dry branches belong to dead trees, washed ashore and half-buried; but these are the exceptions, and in the neighbourhood of springs there are in many places large collections of dead trees and shrubs still rooted below the sea. Further, in such places the sea bottom near the shore is covered for many feet out with dead reed-roots.

The history of the *Rujm el-Bahr* gives us some dates by which we can mark the rise. In Lynch's time (1848) it was a well-marked peninsula. De Saulcy, in 1851, mentions it as a "small islet, divided from the mainland by not more than a hundred yards and by very shallow water, which our horses cross without difficulty." Tristram (*Land of Israel*, p. 250) tells us that in 1858 it was "a peninsula to be reached by stepping-stones almost dryshod," but in 1864 he found "an island, and we tried to ford across to it; but the water soon became too deep to allow of our reaching it without swimming our horses." We have various references to the island up to 1892, when it entirely disappeared, and has since shown no sign of its presence. When the rise of level which produced this disappearance reached its climax we cannot say, but we know for certain that during the last few years there has been a slight fall of level; to this the beach on the north shore bears witness.

The shingle on the shore near *'Ain Feshkhah* is in many places thrown into very definite sizes of ridges. As a rule each ridge has a distinct furrow behind it, and in places there are on the ridges or in the furrows fragments of driftwood. At one point where a photograph was taken as many as seven such lines of raised shingle could be traced, and the more prominent of these could, with some interruptions, be followed all along the north shore. After traversing this district several times I have come to the conclusion that most, if not all, of these lines represent the maximum height attained during previous seasons. Thus the lowest

line, now some 2 feet above the present level (November, 1903), represents the highest that the sea reached in 1903, and so on with the higher levels. We cannot, of course, be sure that every year since the fall of level is represented, as we do not know whether the fall has been continuous, nor for how many seasons it has occurred.



[by Mr. Hornstein.

From a photograph]

At a higher level than the shingly beach is a ridge of sandy material crowned with great quantities of salt-saturated brushwood, palm trunks, &c. This level has not been reached by the sea for several seasons, but it marks the highest level attained a few seasons back, for indeed, I think I may say, many years.

Further inland than this, however, there is evidence that previously the Dead Sea has occupied a considerably higher level. Behind the ridge just mentioned, with its crown of driftwood, there lies a depressed area over a great part of the north shore, this is occupied by lagoons of water, some intensely salt (the salt pans from which the salt is crystallised out for commercial purposes), and others brackish and covered with reeds. At other parts the ground is dry and covered with soft finely-powdered sandy soil with scattered brushes, but *always at a lower level* than the driftwood-covered ridges.

To the north of this lower ground at a distance ranging from a few to over a hundred yards is a consolidated raised ridge of gravel. This ridge, or as I would venture to call it "raised beach," runs like a firm road about 40 feet wide all the way through the *'Ain Feshkhah* district to the landward of the springs and reeds and along the north shore for at any rate some miles. It is only interrupted by being washed away where torrent-beds find their way through it; it is thus markedly broken up at the wide *Wâdy Kumrân*.

I send a photograph of the appearance of this "raised beach" with figures stationed at its sides to mark its boundaries. The ground to the north is again at a lower level, until it rises again into another even wider and more massive ridge. This second "raised beach" does not appear at the *'Ain Feshkhah* district because, apparently, at the level at which it lies, the sea must have washed the foot of the cliffs. There is evidence that at one period this was the case in the carrying away of the great terrace of marly deposit (see *Quarterly Statement*, 1902, p. 162), which now clings as a comparatively thin layer to the face of the cliffs (*see* Fig. 1).[1]

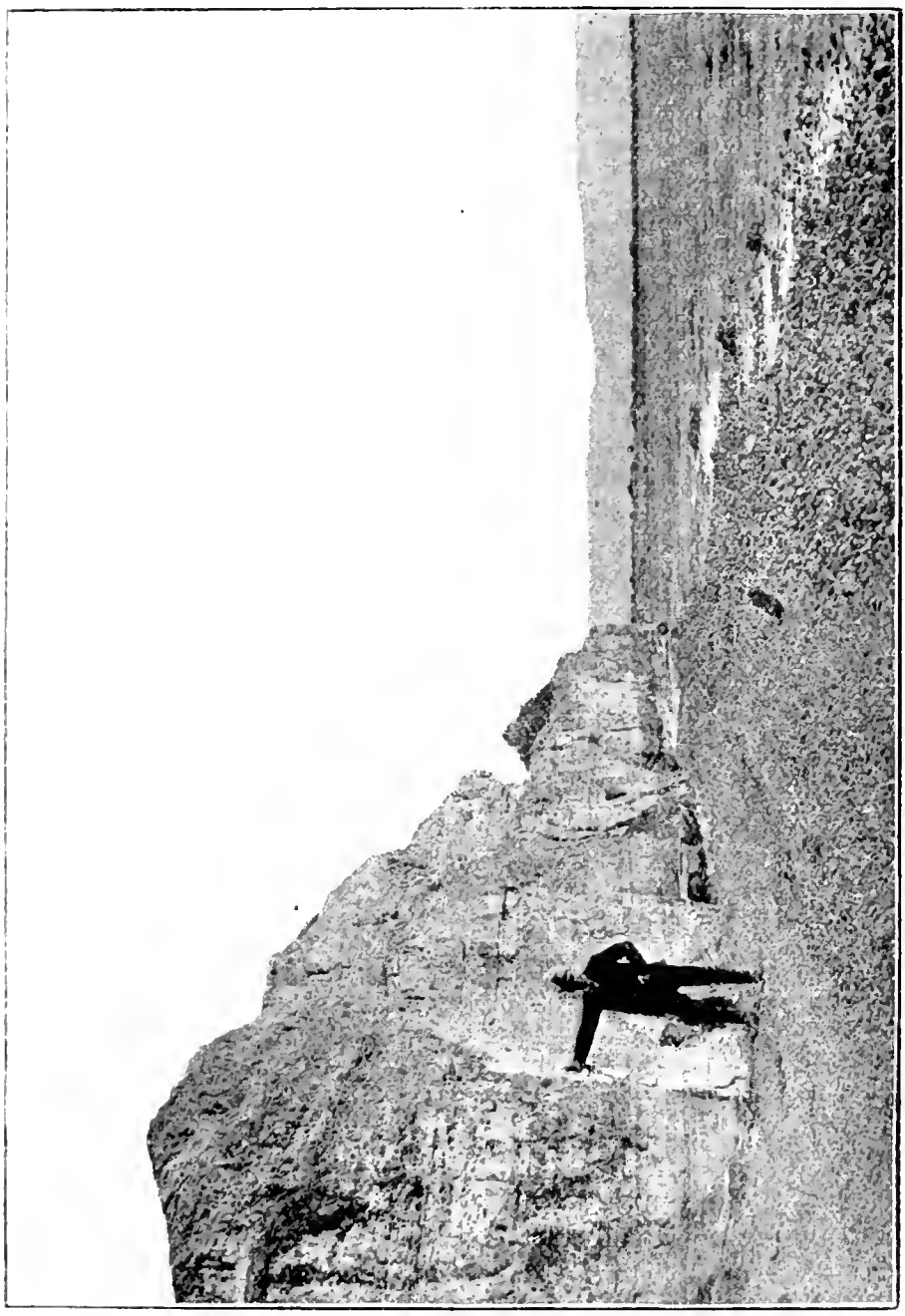
To the north of the second "raised beach," and at a higher level, there is another similar ridge, and I believe others, much more broken up, could convincingly be made out by an experienced geologist.

A proper survey of these "beaches" and other altitudes requires technical skill, but the summit of the first one (that photographed) is but 20 feet above the present sea-level. This can be directly measured, because at one part of the north shore the ridge is actually cut into by the sea, forming a perpendicular cliff of that height above the sea (*see* Fig. 2, p. 166).[2] This naturally-made section shows the ridge to consist of very finely striated layers of brownish marl and sand, alternating with whitish layers of what appears to be almost pure salt. The summit

[1] The long ridge of marly deposit appears a little below the centre of the photograph. It marks a definite line some 70 feet above the level of the oasis. Here much of it has been washed away, and it is scored all over by small runnels.

[2] The line of cliffs runs for about a quarter of a mile on the north shore of the Dead Sea, not far to the extreme eastern limit of the *'Ain Feshkhah* oasis. Where I am standing the cliff is almost perpendicular for 18 feet. The view is looking towards the east, and the mountains of Moab are in the background.

of the "second beach" cannot be many feet higher than the first, but the third is at a considerably higher level. These raised beaches, produced not by land rising but by the sea-level falling, are worthy of attention, and are, I think, clear evidence of changes of level in the Dead Sea within



From a photograph] FIG. 2.—VIEW OF LINE OF CLIFFS ON N.W. SHORE OF THE DEAD SEA. [by Mr. Horneston.

no very distant period. During the last 50 years the level must have been *raised* a good deal over 20 feet, and it is highly probable that if such a change can occur during so short a time, these beaches may mark old sea-levels within historic times. M. Clermont-Ganneau (*Recueil d'Archéologie Orientale*, vol. v, parts 12–17) argues for a change of level

of over 300 feet since the time of Joshua, and though Sir Charles Wilson considers this highly improbable, yet changes of a few score of feet in the course of centuries are most likely to have occurred (*Quarterly Statement*, 1903, p. 94).

When the sea was up to the first beach almost the whole of the present oasis of *'Ain Feshkhah* must have been below the sea, but in the lower ground between the beach and the cliffs there may have been a smaller oasis. At the level of the second beach there could have been no oasis at all at the present situation of *'Ain Feshkhah*.

## II.—Report of the Seventh Visit to 'Ain Feshkhah in 1903.

Visit paid November 21st, 1903. Mr. Hornstein, who accompanied me, most kindly brought his camera and took a number of views to illustrate my "Second Report on the Dead Sea Levels."[1]

We left Jerusalem 1.30 p.m. November 20th, and reached Jericho after dark. We went to *'Ain es-Sultân*, and found that some workmen engaged in building had unearthed two pedestals for columns among the mud-brick débris of the *tell*. These remains, fine worked pedestals in very fair preservation, were lying in the open. The cut surface of the *tell* showed very distinctly the markings of mud bricks exactly similar to those with which the men were then building a house for the miller on the other side of the road.

November 21st.—Started at 5.30 for *'Ain Feshkhah*. After the usual route we turned aside to examine parts of the north shore of the Dead Sea, and reached our destination at 9.45.

*Weather.*—Slight south-west breeze before dawn, but soon after sunrise a north-east breeze, but very slight and intermittent. On the whole, the air was still and close. Atmosphere clear. Slight mist over sea in early morning, but later all the hills to east very clear and distinct.

Surface of sea, small waves in early morning, but smoother in latter part of afternoon.

Irregular lines of foam, but *no definite white line* in the morning. In the afternoon a somewhat irregular and ill-defined white line down the lake.

*State of Level.*—A *fall* of 5 inches at both the Observation Rock and the Pool. The Pool is now very shallow and the water lower than ever before. Measurement now 3 feet 6 inches.

*Barometric Observations.*—November 20th, 1.30 p.m., Jerusalem, 27·93; 6 p.m., Jericho, 31·3; 9.30 p.m., Jericho, 31·34. November 21st, 9.15 a.m., 'Ain Feshkhah, 31·77; 10.15 p.m., Jerusalem, 27·95.

*Thermometer.*—Temperature at Jericho, November 20th, at 9.30 p.m., 62°. November 23rd, temperature of air at 'Ain Feshkhah, 11.30 p.m., 72°; water of *'Ain*, 75°.

*State of Oasis.*—Reeds in flower except over recently burnt areas, where the young reeds, which have grown with extraordinary rapidity, are a rich green.

[1] [Mr. Hornstein's photographs are now to be seen at the office of the Fund; a few are reproduced in Dr. Masterman's first note (*see* above).—Ed.]

The once-cleared area round what I first[1] called *'Ain el-Mabneyeh* is now fast being encroached upon by reeds, the fountain itself being so surrounded as to be almost unapproachable. Very soon, unless the reeds are destroyed again, a stranger could not possibly find it. No cattle nor inhabitants at oasis.

The usual bird life. Sand and rock partridges, pigeons, &c. Of small birds I collected the following:—Chipchaff (very plentiful), blackstart (ditto), whinchat, and the red chat. I also saw the hopping thrush, Tristram's grakles, coot, &c.

Near the most eastern part of the oasis, where the ground is unusually soft, we saw the footprints of wild boar, ibex, gazelle, jackal, and many partridges.

On the road, near *Wady Dabr*, saw three gazelles.

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# THE EARLY NOTICES OF PALESTINE.

By Colonel C. R. Conder, R.E., D.C.L., LL.D.

The oldest known Egyptian notice of countries north of Sinai is found in the Story of Saneha, who lived at the beginning of the twelfth dynasty—perhaps about 2300 B.C. The region to which he refers, after his flight beyond the "wall" defending Egypt on the north-east, lay between *Edîma* and *Tonu*, which were lands in the "north," and countries—or *Tonu* at least and *Aia* a district therein—which were *Fenekh* or Phœnician lands according to one translation. There is nothing very definite told us about their position, but they were in Western Asia, and *Tonu* could be reached in "ships" from Egypt, probably being near the shore. *Edîma* has been supposed to be Edom, but as *d* and *t* are not clearly distinguished in Egyptian it might be Etham (Exodus xiii, 20) nearer to Egypt: it was the first place reached in the lands of the *Sati* or Asiatics. *Aia* may mean "shore," and could not be in Edom, for it was a land full of "figs, grapes, wine, milk, olives, corn, and cattle." The chief of Edîma was named *Maki*, and in Tonu we hear of archer troops who repelled foreign invaders. This region was beyond the possessions of the Pharaoh, and under chiefs called *Monu's* or *Menu's*, which recalls the Akkadian words *Man* and *Umun* for "Lord." One of these chiefs was *Ammiansi*, a name recalling those of Cassite kings. Another was *Khundi-aus*, which recalls the word *Khundi*, supposed to be the name of a God, found in Elamite (*e.g.*, *Kudur-na-Khundi*): so that it is probably to a region with a non-Semitic population that we must look, and to one not far from the seashore.

In later Assyrian texts of Tiglath Pileser III (eighth century B.C.) we read of a country called *Tana* in Asia Minor. It is mentioned with

[1] At a later visit I had reason to doubt the correctness of the name (see *Quarterly Statement*, 1902, p. 298).

Tubal, and with *Tuana* (perhaps Tyana—a well-known site), and may have lain on the west borders of Cappadocia near Cilicia. This seems the only comparison available for "Upper Tonu," and has perhaps been suggested by others, though I have not seen such a comparison proposed. The words *Tu* and *Tun* and *Tum* in Akkadian signify "dark," "evening," "west," and if this be the meaning of *Tonu* it would represent a people who came from further east.

The commonest word for Syria and Asia Minor, in the old Akkadian texts, is *Mar-Tu* "the way west," and it included regions called *Kazalla* and *Tidanu*—the later *Tidnu*—and extended to the shores of the Mediterranean, as appears clear from many accounts of kings who invaded *Martu* and reached the "Sea of Sunset." As regards Kazalla, there was a town in North Syria (No. 309 of the Lists of Thothmes III) called *Kazal* . . . , but unfortunately the last syllable is lost. It lay somewhere in the same region as Aleppo and *Samalua*. The latter was perhaps the later Samalla—now fixed at the top of the great pass leading down to Issus, in the north-western corner of Syria. It may also be the *Samalum* in the mountains of Menua mentioned by Gudea, and the town *Kazal* . . . has been supposed to lie north of Antioch. There is no necessary connection between the region Kazalla, and others called *Azalla* or *Zalla*, and *Zabsali*, which seem to have been further east; but when Kazalla is mentioned, in Akkadian or Babylonian texts, it seems always to be placed west of but near the Euphrates. It was in the *Martu* mountains according to Gudea, and was a region whence stone was brought for building. Mr. Tomkins compares the Turkish *Kizil* ("red brown"), which term applies to many natural features in North Syria—rivers, mountains, &c.—to the present day, and in Akkadian *Kaz-alla* would seem to mean "reddish yellow." The range of the *Kizil-Dagh* or "reddish mountains," stretching from the Euphrates above Urum towards Mer'ash, may perhaps represent the position of the old Kazalla region.

With regard to the region *Tidanu* or *Tidnu*, whence stone for door-sockets was brought by Gudea, this also lay in the mountains of Martu. These door-sockets were made of red granite, diorite, and basalt, and the latter stone occurs in North Syria, where it is known among the Turkish population as *Leja*, probably the same word used for the basaltic region south-west of Damascus. Gudea calls this stone *Sirgal Khabbia*, which appears to mean "very strong and dense."[1] The region *Tidanu* is explained in Semitic to mean *emuku*, "deep valley" or "depth," and this suggests the plain and lake of *el 'Umk* near Antioch. In Akkadian and Turkish *Ti* signifies "to extend" or "stretch," and thus a "plain" or "shore," and the word *Dañ* or *Tañ* in Turkish dialects means a "lake" or "broad water." Tidanu may thus have lain close to the Amanus, and to the lake of el 'Umk, and may have meant "the flat ground of the lake."

In somewhat later times (about 1500 B.C.) the name of the region of Martu was explained in Semitic speech to mean *Akharri*, which used to

[1] Granite also is now known to occur in Cappadocia.

be rendered "western," but most scholars, following the instances when the land of *A-mu-ur-ru* is mentioned (in the Tell Amarna texts) now read *A-mu-ri*, and refer the name to the Amorites. That a people called *Amaur* lived in this north part of Syria we gather from Egyptian pictures, and they are, no doubt, the Amorites of the Bible, but they may have been named from their land and not the land from them. In every certain instance this word *Amurru*, referring to a land, is spelt with the double *r*, and it may only mean "shore of the sea." If it is really co-extensive with *Tihamu* the latter may be rendered "shore of the sea," and *emuki* "depths," rather than "valleys."

In the same region Gudea mentions Mount *Amanum* (or as spelt otherwise *Hamanu*), which is clearly the Amanus north of Antioch, whence he got cedars. In the account of the expedition of Tiglath Pileser I (twelfth century B.C.) to Arvad, we find that, after reaching Samalla, he arrived at *Salmara*, at a riverhead under Amanus. This seems to me to be the present *Salimara* at the head of the Kara-su River, east of the Amanus. Thence he marched south to the Orontes to reach the shore, and was attacked on the way from *Yazbug*, probably the present *Yazibagh*, further east. The position of *Amanu* or *Khamanu* is thus clear, but the name does not appear to be Semitic. As an Akkadian term it would mean "the lofty range."

Another region noticed by Gudea in this connection is *Kâgaladda*, apparently "the great gate of the ravine," which was in the mountains of *Kimas* ("silver," Turkish *Kümüs*), whence copper was obtained. This appears to refer to the silver mines of Cappadocia, and to the valley of the Jihun River leading down to Cilicia. In recent texts at Susa, however, the term *Kâgaladda* refers to a place in Elam (Western Persia). In the fifteenth century B.C. the country of Alasiya (Elishah, Genesis x, 4), which was apparently near the shore, provided Egypt with copper, and it lay probably in Cilicia. Copper was thus obtained, according to both accounts, from the neighbourhood of the present silver mines of Cappadocia.

In these oldest accounts *Markhasi*, which, as I pointed out in translating the Tell Amarna texts, is mentioned in the fifteenth century B.C., as a Hittite city (now Mer'ash) is not noticed; but it lay within the same region. Nor do we yet hear of the land of *Igaid* or *Ikatai*[1] (perhaps "the

[1] *Ikatai* is noticed in the Tell Amarna letters from Gebal, and in that of the Hittite prince Tarkhundara. It is also noticed in the Mohar's journey. The sequence of his topography has been much upset by recent suggestions of Dr. M. Muller, but it seems to me to be exact throughout. It begins with the Hittite countries, mentions Aup and Khatuma (compare Aubenu and Khatuma, Nos. 184, 185, Lists of Thothmes III, near 'Azzaz), and an Egyptian fortress (Tsor of Sesostris), and Khalep (Aleppo), after which comes Kadesh on Orontes (*Kades*), and Tubakhi (also noticed in the Tell Amarna texts), with a pass of the Lebanon called *Pamakar* or *Pamakal* ("the great pass" as a Turkish word), where were forests. After Mount Shana and a ford comes Gebal with its "goddess" (Baalath of Gebal), then Beirut, Sidon, Sarepta, the

river valley"), which lay rather further south, near Rezeph and Kadesh on the Orontes.

All these geographical names, before 2300 B.C., are apparently non-Semitic; and until about 1600 B.C. we do not find the familiar Semitic names, such as Lebanon, Amorite, Kadesh, or those of the Phœnician cities from Arvad southwards.

But Gudea was also in communication with two countries called *Melukhkha* and *Ma-gan*, whence he obtained gold-dust and *Gu-iz* (or *Tikkiz*) in the first case, and granite for statues in the latter. These materials were carried to his city near the Tigris in ships. Both these regions, in later Assyrian texts, are well known to be mentioned together, as being close to or in Egypt and Cush; and *Melukhkha* is noticed in the Tell Amarna texts in connection with Egypt. It has usually been supposed to be the Nubian region south of Egypt, though some scholars place it in the Sinaitic peninsula (where, however, gold never seems to have occurred), and some further east. If the name is Semitic, and means "salt land," we may recall the "City of Salt," now *Tell el-Milh* ("salt hill"), south-east of Beersheba. It has, however, probably no connection with the *Tell Millakhkha*, or "salt hill," a place conquered by one of the early kings of Ur. It is clear from the later Assyrian accounts that *Melukhkha* was a desert region, for which reason the term *Gu-iz* should not be rendered "Kala trees," or "all sort of trees," not only because of bad grammar, but because a desert, such as Sargon and Sennacherib describe, would not produce valuable trees. The word more probably signifies "bluestone," such as the Egyptians obtained from Sinai and elsewhere, and which the early Cassites and Babylonians greatly prized, as we know from their existing votive texts on *lapis lazuli*.

*Magan* is very generally placed in Sinai. The word seems clearly, as Lenormant points out, to mean "ship-enclosure" or "harbour," and might apply to many places. But the granite brought thence for statues points to Sinai, for Gudea's statues, according to geologists, are of

ford of Nazana, and Tyre (a city in the sea with two ports); then Autu, Tsaru, Pakaikna, and Achzib, Mount Usor, Ikama, Hazor (in Lower Galilee), and Takaral (Tarichæa), with the *Mat-a-mim*, or "land of waters" (the Sea of Galilee). The cities of the land of Takhis, which follow, seem to have lain in Galilee. Cofer Merron (*Meirûn*), Tamena (*Tibnin*), Kodesh (Cadesh Naphtali), Dapui (*Dibl*), Adzai (*Aita*), Har Nemata, Keriath Anab, Beith Tsuphar (Sepphoris), Oduram (*'Aitherûn*), Tsidphoth (perhaps *Safed*), Khauretza (Harosheth, now el-*Harathiyeh*), Rehob (*Tell Rehâb*), and Beith Sheal or Beith Shear (either Beth-Shan or *Sha'rah*), with Kariathaal (perhaps *'Aulem*). The "fords of Jordan" naturally follow, with Megiddo (if at *Mujedda*). The passage to the Plain of Sharon is next noticed, and then comes Joppa followed by Atsion, and Uati, and an Egyptian fort of Rameses II. Lastly, we find Aksakaba, Ainini, Nekhai, Rehoboth, Raphia, and Gaza. All the more important towns thus clearly follow each other in sequence from north to south.

Sinaitic granite, such as did not occur in Chaldea, where basalt only was found. *Magan* was thus apparently a harbour either at Elath ('Akabah) or at Suez, and the fleets from Ur must thus early have circumnavigated Arabia.

In the oldest texts, therefore, before 2300 B.C., we find notice only of the extreme north of Syria, as reached by the "road west," and of the extreme south near Egypt and Sinai. It is possible that Dungi and his predecessors at Ur may have known the whole of Palestine, but noticed only such places as produced valuable materials. In the north the nomenclature is Mongolic and not Semitic, and *Magan* is also an Akkadian term, nor is it at all certain that *Melukhkha* is a Semitic word, for it may only mean "the land of slaves."

According to the later Babylonians, of the seventh and sixth centuries B.C., Sargon, the oldest king of Ur, whom they regarded as the first founder of civilisation, conquered *Martu* to the Mediterranean, and his successor fought in *Magan* as well, but we have as yet no texts of these kings describing such victories. The oldest references are those mentioned in texts by Gudea, the contemporary and perhaps the successor of Dungi, king of Ur, whom these later writers believed to have lived about 2800 B.C., but whose actual date cannot at present be considered certain, although it cannot well be placed as late as 2300 B.C. In this age Palestine proper seems to have been an independent region of tribes not ruled either by Egypt or by the kings of Ur.

The names of places conquered by the Kings of Ur who succeeded Dungi do not suggest expeditions to the West. One of these kings, *Kat Sin* (or *Kat-aku*) mentions *Mada*, probably Media, and *Zabsali*, which was near it apparently, and may have been in the Valley of Zab River; and other places, the names of which are doubtful, occur in the history of his predecessor *Bur Sin* (otherwise *Amar-aku*), none of these recalling those of Gudea's great text. The last-named king, however (or one of the same name) was King of the "four quarters of the earth." About 2280 B.C. the Elamite King Kudur-na-Khundi calls himself "Chief of Martu." These non-Semitic rulers of Chaldea thus seem to have claimed lordship over Syria, and perhaps over Palestine.

With the foundation of Babylon (which, according to Sir H. Rawlinson, should be dated about 2230 B.C.) we find the first dynasty renewing the attacks on the west. The short chronicle of the first seven reigns, recently published, is written in Akkadian. The eleven kings of the first dynasty were all of one family, and used the Akkadian language in their inscriptions down to Ammi Zadugga (the tenth king)[1]; and,

[1] With due deference I cannot but think that, when these names are translated as Semitic, the results are most improbable. *Sumulaan* is supposed to mean "is not Shem a God," though the S is the *Sin*. I doubt anyone possessing such a name. *Ammi Zadugga* meant, according to the Babylonians, "an established family," and I fail to see the connection with the Semitic name 'Amsadok. *Sumu* was not Shem according to the Babylonians, who rendered it *Sukamuna*. He was a Cassite god.

although about 2200 B.C. the Semitic inscriptions of their subjects and allies begin to be numerous, and Ammurabi himself (the sixth king) wrote letters in Semitic dialect, the presence of a large Mongolic population in this age is not disputed, and to this race the first dynasty probably belonged. No evidence has yet been produced either from Nippur or elsewhere, which also proves to us with any certainty that Semitic rulers existed in Mesopotamia till a much later age—2000 B.C. at earliest.

The first King of Babylon (Sumuabi) in his thirteenth year attacked Kazallu—probably the same region as Kazalla—and, according to Dr. Sayce, he took Aleppo yet earlier. His successor (Sumulaan) again fought in Kazallu in his twentieth year, the name here apparently referring to a city. A period of some 87 years of peace followed. The kings of Babylon appear to have acknowledged the suzerainty of kings from Elam, down to a late date in the reign of Ammurabi (Khammurapi), and thus both Kudur Mabug, and his son Eriaku who ruled in Larsa, call themselves rulers of all Babylonia (in the twenty-second century B.C.), and the former also was lord of *Martu*. Ammurabi also conquered in *Martu*, and is generally allowed to be the Amraphel of the Bible (Gen. xiv), Eriaku being Arioch. But unfortunately the chronicle of Ammurabi's reign—which lasted either 43 or 45 years—is broken away in the middle, just at the most interesting part, and the recent text of Eriaku found at Nippur does not give a chronicle of his reign, but only his titles as King of Chaldea and of Northern Babylonia.

There is, however, a tablet found at Nippur which may cast light on this chronicle.[1] It is broken at the beginning and at the end, and the king's name is lost, but it represents clearly a short chronicle of the reign of an important early monarch, who conquered Elam and who ruled more than 41 years. The events of the early part of his reign, and those of the close, tally with Ammurabi's history. The text—like the chronicle of the first Babylonian dynasty—is in Akkadian, and it seems probable that the gap in Ammurabi's history may be thus filled, as will be seen by comparing the two documents.[2]

| Ammurabi's Chronicle. | Text No. 125 Nippur. |
|---|---|
| Year. | Year. |
| 1. Year when Ammura . . . . . | 1. . . . . |
| 2. When the word . . . . . | 2. When the people of Nippur . . . |
| 3. When the throne of the Sun God . . | 3. When the King made the Temple at Ur. |
| 4. When the fortress of (*Mālga?*) . . | 4. When he made the fortress of a Goddess. |
| 5. When the law giver . . . . . | 5. When he made the temple of the Moon God the establisher of justice. |

[1] See *The First Bible*, p. 204.

[2] Contract Tablets in the British Museum which belong to Ammurabi's reign are also dated by the same events, *e.g.*, that of the twelfth year "Throne of Zarpanit," of the 20th "inundation," and of the thirty-fifth "fortress."

| Ammurabi's Chronicle. | Text No. 125 Nippur. |
|---|---|
| Year. | Year. |
| 6. When the fortress of the God . . . | 6. When he built the mountain temple. |
| 7. When *Isin* . . . . . | 7. When he built the temple of the God *Gudim* of the great fortress. |
| 8. When the . . . . . of the Canal *Dilbat* . . . . . | 8. When he built a temple to the God of the distant region of (*Kazallu?*). |
| 9. When the canal of Ammurabi . . | 9. When he made the temple of the River God. |
| 10. When the (beams?) of the temple . . . . . | 10. When he made a temple of the Moon God of Babylon. |
| 11. When . . . . . at (*Kis?*) | 11. When the Moon God inspired a priest to declare a vision. |
| 12. When the throne of the Goddess (Zar)panit . . . . . | 12. When he made the throne of the Goddess. |
| 13. When . . . . . greatly | 13. When the Moon God made an inspired priest prophesy. |
| 14. When the throne . . . . . at Babylon . . . . . | 14. When the King married his daughter and made her Princess of Merâsh. |
| 15. When the image . . . . . | 15. When the talisman was set in place. |
| 16. When the throne . . . . . | 16. When the son at Ur sent back a message about the (imprisoned?) official. |
| 17. When the image of the God . . . . Heaven and earth was made . . . | 17. When the temple of the Gods of heaven and the deep was decreed. |
| 18. When the Moon God . . . . . | 18. . . . . the temple of a God and Goddess. |
| 19. . . . . *Ur bar* . . . . . | 19. . . . . region *Kazal* . . . . . |
| 20. . . . . a storm flooded . . . . . | 20. After? . . . . . |
| 21. . . . . *sippa* . . . . . | 21. When the King . . . . . |
| 22. . . . . *murabi* . . . . . | 22. When *Emur* was attacked. |
| 23. . . . . | 23. When (*Gubla?*) was attacked. |
| 24. . . . . | 24. When (*Gubla?*) was attacked a second time. |
| 25. . . . . | 25. When (*Birkhusi?*) was attacked. |
| 26. . . . . | 26. When a priest prophesied against *Eridu*. |
| 27. . . . . | 27. Year after the priest prophesied against *Eridu*. |
| 28. . . . . | 28. When the King gave a daughter to the ruler of *Ansan*. |
| 29. . . . . (God?) . . . . . | 29. When *Emur* was attacked a second time. |
| 30. When the army of Elam . . . . . | 30. When *Emuru* was attacked a third time. |

| Ammurabi's Chronicle. | Text No. 125 Nippur. |
|---|---|
| Year. | Year. |
| 31. When the land *Emu* . . . . . | 31. Year after the third attack on *Emuru*. |
| 32. When the army of the land . . . | 32. When *Ansan* was attacked. |
| 33. When the canal of Ammurabi . . | 33. Year after *Ansan* was attacked. |
| 34. When the Gods . . . . . | 34. When the temple of the Moon God the establisher of justice was renewed. |
| 35. When the fortress . . . . . | 35. When he built the fortress in Media. |
| 36. When . . . . . | 36. The year after he built the Median fortress. |
| 37. When . . . . . | 37. When he built the mound of Dagon in *Susa*.[1] |
| 38. When the great . . . . . | 38. The year after he built the mound of Dagon in *Susa*. |
| 39. . . . . | 39. The second year after (the same event). |
| 40. . . . . | 40. The year the land of *Sūsub* was attacked. |
| 41. . . . . | 41. The year . . . . . |
| 42. . . . . | 42. . . . . |
| 43. . . . . the old town . . . . . | 43. . . . . |

In spite of the various gaps it seems impossible that so many events should coincide in so long a reign, unless the same King is the subject of both chronicles. The record represents, first, 19 years of peace, and of building temples, and of digging canals. In the nineteenth year the wars in the west begin by the conquest of Kazalla, followed by the first attack on *Emur*. The name of the place mentioned in the twenty-third and twenty-fourth years is much damaged, but if *Gubla* be the real reading Gebal in Syria is no doubt intended. The marriage of the King's daughter with a ruler of Ansan precedes his designs on Elam (where Ansan lay) just as the marriage with a prince of Mer'ash, in the case of another daughter, precedes the attack on Martu. The wars in the west continued till the thirtieth year, or 11 years in all. The quarrel with Elam follows in the thirty-third year, and the letters now published from Ammurabi to Sinidinna show that he established this Semitic prince in Chaldea and Western Elam, in place of the defeated Eriaku. He may have been the "ruler of Ansan," whom the King's daughter married. The power of Ammurabi was thus established in Susa on the south-east, and on the borders of Media on the north-east, and was probably no longer disputed in the west.

This chronicle has a remarkable bearing on the Bible account (Gen. xiv) of Ammurabi's attack on the south of Palestine. In the Bible

[1] A recent Akkadian text by Ammurabi, found at Susa, refers to his victories in that region.

he appears not as the supreme ruler, but as an ally of the Elamites, Chedorlaomer, and Arioch. It must therefore have occurred before the thirty-second year when Ammurabi quarrelled with Elam. The Bible account says that the Kings of the Jordan Valley served Chedorlaomer 12 years, and revolted in the thirteenth. The tablet gives only 11 or 12 years for the Syrian wars, but the total of 43 years is two years short of that given in another list of reigns of this dynasty. The name of the place attacked in the twenty-fifth year is much damaged. It might even perhaps be read *Kidsi* or Kadesh. The name *Emur* or *Emuru* also recalls the Hebrew *Amorah*, which in the English version is rendered *Gomorrah*. Without however laying any stress on doubtful words, the record seems clearly to show that the 12 years of Ammurabi's conquests in the west come before the date of the quarrels with Elam, thus fully agreeing with the Bible account of the position occupied by Amraphel as regards Chedorlaomer of Elam.

The son and successor of Ammurabi was Šāmšuiluna (or *Śāmśuisibna*), who ruled 35 or 38 years. He appears to have been usually at peace, but in the thirty-fifth year he attacked cities of uncertain name, and in the thirty-sixth (according to the new chronicle which gives the longer reign) he was in *Marta*. His son and successor Ammisatana (or *Ammiditana*) also conquered in *Marta*. The chronicle does not include the reigns of the last two kings of the dynasty, Ammi Zadugga and Śaamśusatana.

After the close of the first dynasty of Babylon we have, as yet, no account of Palestine until the Egyptian conquest by Thothmes III; and the Babylonians and Assyrians do not appear to have entered the country again till after the great revolt of the fifteenth century B.C. By this time the whole of the south was full of Semitic inhabitants, and the Amorites also spoke a Semitic language in the Lebanon: but the Mongolic population remained independent in the north, where Dusratta of Armenia fought the Hittites. It is not impossible that Burnaburias may have entered Syria, as did his father-in-law Assur Uballid, but the known records of the third or Cassite dynasty do not as yet show this clearly. The Cassites were Mongols, and their inscriptions are in Akkadian; but the Semitic power of Assyria confined them on the north. The next inroads were made by Semitic conquerors of the twelfth century B.C.—the well-known Nebuchadrezzar I of Babylon, and Assurrisisi, and Tiglath Pileser I, of Assyria.

One final remark may be added. Whatever be the decision to be reached in future as to the race to which the first dynasty of Babylon belonged (and in my own opinion they are shown by names and other indications, to have been Cassites or Mongols, adoring *Suma*, the Cassite God), it is established that they wrote in Akkadian, and that they had many Semitic, but also many Mongolic subjects under them. It is established that they conquered the west, entering Kazalla, and allying themselves with the princes of Mer'ash, the great Hittite stronghold at the foot of the Taurus. It is equally clear that, many centuries earlier, the

Mongol princes of Ur had relations with countries lying near Amanus and Cappadocia. The limits of their empire almost entirely correspond, on the north, with the limits of the so-called "Hittite" civilisation, which is known to have existed before 1600 B.C., while two of the Hittite texts, at least, are as old as 1500 B.C. The probability that these texts were written, in most cases, by subjects of the kings of Babylon, before 2000 B.C., is thus greatly increased, by the recent information as to the conquests of these monarchs, which has been published by the British Museum, in France, and in America.

## NOTICES OF FOREIGN PUBLICATIONS.

*Revue Biblique*, vol. xii, No. 4.—The most helpful paper in this number is Father Vincent's elaborate discussion of the ruins of 'Amwâs, with photographs and plans, in the course of which he investigates the question whether the remains are of Roman *thermæ* or of a Christian basilica. P. Ronzevalle gives an account of a Babylonian bas-relief found in the Jebel Akrûm in North Lebanon by R. P. Lammens in 1899; it represents a man, barefooted, draped in a tunic, contending with a lion, which is depicted marching erect after the familiar manner of Assyrian-Babylonian art. A little to the south lies the W. Brîsa, where M. Pognon discovered two cuneiform inscriptions of Nebuchadnezzar II, upon one of which is figured a practically identical scene. From this it would seem that the newly-discovered relief is probably of the same period (ca. 587 B.C.).

*Revue Biblique*, vol. xiii, No. 1.—Father Vincent presents a critical and exegetical study of the passages in Nehemiah relating to the walls of Jerusalem; he recognises that no discussion of the topographical difficulties can carry any weight unless it is founded upon a careful criticism of the sources, and his valuable article should not be overlooked by future enquirers. Professor Guidi edits an Arabic fragment of a Biblical onomasticon. The names are entirely personal, and the interpretations are in agreement with the Greek in Lagarde's edition, but they are not derived directly from the Greek, but through the Syriac. Among the archæological items are various Greek fragments, one from a tomb of the family of Bizzos (the grave of Rebekka, the mother of Mamos); another commemorates Marchion, son of Kronides of Pella (Μαρχίων Κρονίδου Πελλεί's). In Πελλεύς, Father Savignac perceives an ethnic of Πέλλα or Πέλλη, which is not the site in the Decapolis, but the city mentioned between Emmaus and Idumæa in Jos., *Wars* iii, 3, 5, and in the same list with Lydda, in the neighbourhood of which the inscription was actually found. From the ruins at Beersheba come a fresh fragment of the imperial rescript, and various pieces of pottery

in Judea—the common variety of an Astarte figure, a curious object to be found among the lamps and bowls of Roman and early Christian periods. An account of sepulchral chambers at Jerusalem, to the east of St. Stephen, is of particular interest on account of the discovery of a Roman inscription of the time of Hadrian.

*Zeitschrift d. Deutschen Pal.-Vereins*, 1904, I.—Dr. V. Schwöbel contributes the first part of a valuable monograph upon Galilee. He deals at length with its geographical features, commerce, and population, and does not omit to point out its possibilities in the future. Galilee, as he observes, is a land that has special claims to our consideration on several grounds. He shows that its position made it ever the battle-field of nations. Its population has always been a mixed one, and this is a factor which is not to be neglected in a study of the present resources of the country. Although more fruitful than Judæa, or even Samaria, it has never been "a land flowing with milk and honey." In the course of a lengthy history it appears at certain periods as a rich, highly-cultivated and thickly populated district, the home and starting-point of the highest spiritual religion; at other periods we find it sunk in oblivion. The economic conditions have always been affected by the dryness of the land: it might, concludes Dr. Schwöbel, be made to support a much greater population than at present, provided the desert proved no hindrance. But in spite of its fruitfulness, substantial yields are only to be obtained when the soil is tilled with persevering industry and intelligence, and the very heterogeneity of its population is not conducive to concerted action.

The sixth volume of the *Recueil d'Archéologie Orientale* starts in an auspicious manner with a careful discussion of two charters of the Crusaders preserved by the Arab author, Sâleh ben Yahya (fifteenth century). They belong to the thirteenth century and are of great importance for the light they cast upon the good relations which subsisted between the Mohammedan Emirs and their neighbours the Christian overlords of Sidon and Beirût. The charters in question are concessions or rather leases relating to a *shakâra*. This word, as Professor Clermont-Ganneau justly argues, has nothing to do with "hunting rights," nor is it a place-name. There is little doubt it denotes a piece of land held in return for certain specific duties. The word is Aramaic, but ultimately is probably of Assyrian origin—the derivation from *sakar* "hire," suggested by Professor Clermont-Ganneau being rather uncertain. § 3 is a discussion of Saida and its environs after Edrisi. § 4 deals with a Greek and Latin dedication to Baal-Marcod, recently edited by P. Ronzevalle. The inscription was found at Dêr el-Kal'a, and introduces us to the goddess Σημα, whose position between Hera and the New Hera testifies to her importance in the pantheon of Syria. Whether the name is related to Zeus Seimios is uncertain. New inscriptions from Lepris Magna are handled in § 5. Dr. Littmann's recent argument that

*meskin*, "poor," was also used to mean "leper, leprous," receives fresh support in § 6. According to this scholar, πτωχὸς in Luke xvi. 20 (where the Syriac uses מיסכנא), is an example of this usage, and certainly when one recalls how tradition associated Lazarus with leprosy the view has considerable probability. Professor Ganneau would go further and see in the πτωχτῖα of the Byzantine age leper-houses. One of these, founded at Jerusalem, was situated ἐν Φορδισίοις, and it is ingeniously suggested that the last-mentioned is merely a translation of the Aramic *pardaisa*, "garden." It is obvious that the Φορδίσια would be in the outskirts of Jerusalem. The account of the Phœnician Platanos (§ 8) is a translation of the note which appeared in the January *Quarterly Statement*. Of great interest is the publication of an Egypto-Phœnician inscription from Gebal (§ 9). The Egyptian portion bears the cartouche of Shishak (Sesonk I); the Phœnician, as the palæography shows, is later and imperfect, and contains the name Abibaal. It is, unfortunately, too indistinct to be read with certainty, and it will be sufficient to quote the savant's translation: "which Abibaal erected . . . . of Gebal, in Egypt, for Baal— . . . . citizen of Gebal." In § 10 there is an account, with a plate, of a statuette of Jupiter Heliopolitanus, now in the possession of M. J. Löytved, of Beirut.

*Semitic Epigraphical Notes*, by Professor C. C. Torrey. (From the *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, xxiv, 1903, pp. 205–226.)—Professor Torrey publishes an old Hebrew seal, an agate, inscribed ליהושע בן עשיהו ("the seal) of Joshua, son of Asaiah." The legend is on two lines, separated by a rather more elaborate device than the usual single or double stroke. The characters are beautifully engraved in a script which has several features in common with that of the Siloam inscription. Professor Torrey observes that there is nothing to indicate the period to which it belongs, and he places it anywhere "from the early kingdom down to the time of the Roman rule." The resemblance which the seal may bear to the *undated* Siloam stone is of very little guidance in settling the question of date. The author next discusses a weight inscribed בקע "half." It weighs 5·8698 grams or 90·58 grains, *i.e.*, about half of the Babylonian (or Persian) Royal silver shekel of about 11·5 grains. It bears no obvious relation to the stone weights with the legend נצף which seem to represent a weight a little more than 10 grams. בקע appears only in Gen. xxiv, 22; Ex. xxxviii, 26; and since the Targum in both cases vaguely renders "weight," Professor Torrey suggests that ב׳ "half-shekel" had become obsolete at the time when the Aramaic paraphrases were made. Further notes deal with a Palestinian forgery, the difficulties of the recent Sidonian royal inscriptions and a Phœnician (?) bronze-weight. The last-mentioned is in the form of a crystal with 11 sides, each bearing an incised oblong, stamped **117**—possibly the numeral 12.

## NOTES AND QUERIES.

1. *A new Tell el-Amarna Tablet.*—About the same time that two cuneiform dispatch tablets were discovered by Dr. Sellin at Taanach, two more of the well-known Tell el-Amarna series of documents came to light in Egypt. They have been edited by Father Scheil, whose translation is as follows :—

"To the King of the land of Egypt, says Assur-uballaṭ, King of "Assyria, to thee, to thy house, to thy wife, to thy chariots and "soldiers, salutation. I have sent a messenger (envoy) to visit you "and your country. Things which aforetime my fathers never "forwarded to you, see here. I send you a splendid chariot and "pair of horses ; and further, a *uhina* in pure lapis, as presents for "you I forward. As to my messenger, receive him well, let him "come and return to me."

The word *uhina* denotes some kind of carving, a small pillar or votive object. The Tell el-Amarna tablet collection in the Cairo Museum already possessed a letter from Assur-uballaṭ.

The second dispatch is from a Palestinian governor, whose name, Yabisar, is new, reminding us of two previous patronymics on the tablets, Yapi-Adda and Yaditira. This official says :—

"To the King, my Lord, says Yabi-Sarru, thy slave, seven and "seven times at your feet I bow. What the King has ordered me, "I have performed. Full of fear is all the land before the King's "soldiers. I have levied my troops ; ships are at the disposition of "the King's soldiers, and whosoever is a rebel, no house or hope" (of life) "is left in him. See I have safeguarded the position that "the King my lord" (has confided to me). "The face of the King "my lord be toward his servant, who is devoted to him."[1]

JOSEPH OFFORD.

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2. *Inscription at Janiah.*[2]—In the *Journal of Biblical Literature*, vol. xxii, Part I, p. 30, the Rev. John P. Peters, D.D., publishes the

[1] [It is worth mentioning that the suggestion has been made that Yabi-sarru signifies "Yahwè is king" (*Revue Biblique*, 1904, p. 141).—ED.].

[2] [Janiah or Jâniyeh, about half a day west of Ramallah, overlooking the plain of Sharon.]

following inscription, "found at Janiah in the old mosque on a stone serving as a window-sill":—

ΜΝΗ[illegible]
ΥCΟΥΠΡΟΚΟ
ΚΙΩΑ[illegible]ΙΝΟΥ

If the ends of the lines are perfect, the first line would require about six letters, and may be restored thus—

ΜΝΗΜΑΔΟΥΛ

In the last line, Ε may be supplied. The inscription would then read—

*Μνημα δουλου σου Προκοκιου αειον.*

For the proper name, Procopios seems likely. I do not find the inscription in Waddington or Clermont-Ganneau, and send it on for improved reading.

T. F. WRIGHT.

3. *Hebrew Inscription from Fik* (*Quarterly Statement*, 1903, p. 185). —Professor Clermont-Ganneau writes that he inclines to the reading—

אנה יהודה חקאנה

"I Judah have engraved."

חקא is perhaps for חָקַק, as is sometimes the case with verbs ע"ע, and the participle would then be followed by the personal pronoun in accordance with Aramaic usage.

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4. *The Origin of the Cuneiform Syllabary.*—In answer to a correspondent who has asked for a brief account of the above, it will be sufficient to draw upon the statements in recent Assyrian grammars by Fried. Delitzsch and L. W. King.

The groups of wedges used by the Babylonians and Assyrians were not of their own invention, the system was bequeathed to them by the earlier dwellers in the land, to whom the name "Sumerians" is generally given. "During the last 20 years excavations have been carried on in Southern Babylonia which have brought to light thousands of Sumerian inscriptions dating from the period between 4500 and 2500 B.C. The

great majority of these are written in cuneiform or wedge-shaped characters, very similar to those employed by the Babylonians and Assyrians, but the earliest among them are not written in cuneiform, but in 'line' characters, *i.e.*, the signs employed in these early inscriptions do not consist of groups of *wedges* but of groups of *lines*, and a careful examination of them proves that the Babylonian system of writing was in reality very similar to that in use among the Egyptians. Each had "*a pictorial* origin" (L. W. King). It is very interesting to observe that in many cases it is not difficult to see in the groups of lines the objects or hieroglyphs which they actually represent; thus in the earliest forms the sun is represented by a four-sided lozenge, "God" or "heaven" by a star with eight rays. In a few cases the resemblance to natural objects becomes more obvious when they are viewed from their present right-hand side, on which account it has been suggested that the signs were originally written perpendicularly. This would find an analogy in Chinese, where, also, the characters have undergone a modification from a system of primitive hieroglyphs just as has happened in the history of the cuneiform. The development from lines to wedges finds its explanation in the material used in Assyria and Babylonia. The Egyptians adopted papyrus, upon which it was easy to draw hieroglyphs, but the Sumerians had no papyrus plant, and fashioned tablets from the clay with which the land abounded. The writing-implement or stylus was four-sided, and when the end was pressed into the soft clay, it penetrated deeper than the rest, with the natural result that the stroke became gradually thicker, whence the characteristic *cuneus*.

For fuller information reference may be made to the grammars referred to. We may add that according to one theory the parent alphabet of the Semites, Greeks, Romans, &c., was derived from the cuneiform, but in the present state of our knowledge this is merely a theory and has not very much in its favour. The cuneiform has the great advantage over all the Semitic scripts that the vowels are regularly and faithfully represented. On the other hand, it was unwieldy and laborious, and in later centuries (eighth–fourth B.C.) Aramaic was used side by side in business documents, and possibly as the language of the lower classes. Finally, the Susians reduced the hundreds of Babylonian signs to some 112, retaining the same signs for the same or for similar sounds, whilst the old Persians who followed, contented themselves with adopting from their predecessors three kinds of wedges (perpendicular, horizontal, and the double wedge), and rejecting all determinatives, formed a real alphabet of 36 signs, none of which is identical with or even a modification of the sign expressing the same sound in the Babylonian or the Susian scripts.

THE

# PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND.

## NOTES AND NEWS.

THE Committee desire to appeal very earnestly to subscribers and their friends to assist them in completing the Excavations of Gezer thoroughly. The extension of time now granted by the Sultan would make this possible; but only if the force of workpeople can be increased, for which more money is necessary. *Special donations* are invited. An additional £1,000 is required.

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The results of the last quarter's excavation of Gezer have been extremely satisfactory. The history of the place is gradually being revealed in increasing clearness, and soon all that will be required will be definite chronological indications to determine with precision the age of the various strata. And there is now hope that even these will not be wanting. We refer, of course, to the cuneiform tablet of the year 649 B.C., which was found "in a comparatively late stratum" contemporary with the Hebrew monarchy. This in itself is valuable evidence, and we are reconciled to the circumstance that the tablet throws no light on Gezer, and that its fragments do not even mention the town. What has to be said about the tablet by the discoverer and by the three greatest Assyriological scholars in this country will be read below (pp. 229 *sqq.*). But if this is the most striking "find," there have been many other gains of hardly less interest. Expert geological examination has proved that one of the pillars in the "High Place" is not of local stone, and Mr. Macalister at once inferred that the curious groove which he had previously noticed in it was to prevent the rope from slipping over it when it was dragged from its original home. This

at once illustrates a Biblical passage, and possibly explains a doubtful phrase in the inscription of the Moabite king Mesha. Further, the discovery of more of the city walls has made their chronology more intelligible, and it is reasonably deduced that the inner wall dates back to about 2000 B.C. and the period of the Troglodytes, perhaps even as far back as the fourth millennium. Finally, we must not omit to mention two interesting specimens of old Hebrew writing: an inscribed weight and a potter's stamp, and among the numerous Egyptian objects the scarab of Khyan of the Hyksos dynasty, and of Amenophis III and Thii of the period of the Amarna Tablets.

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These discoveries, it is well to remember, were made just when the firman was on the point of expiring. It will easily be imagined, therefore, with what satisfaction the Committee learned, through Mr. Dickson, the British Consul at Jerusalem, that the Turkish authorities had courteously extended the permit for one year. To have stopped the work at this juncture would have been mortifying and disastrous to the highest degree. Students of archæology, of folk-lore, of ancient religion, students of the Bible, alike have profited by the work that has been carried on with such striking success during the last two years. Indeed, one can scarcely over-estimate the gains to Biblical knowledge that have accrued, and surprising though the results have been they are scarcely so surprising as the general lack of practical interest taken in the excavation. The Fund is greatly indebted to those whose special donations have enabled the work to be carried out thoroughly hitherto, but five-sixths of the mound remain, and if the excavation is to be effected as exhaustively as time permits there must be a substantial increase in the number of subscribers or in the extent of their subscriptions. Additional labourers can be hired if there are funds with which to hire them, and, looking back upon the success which has attended the labours of the last two years, the Committee feel themselves entitled to make a renewed appeal for more funds. The cost entailed in making known every three months the progress of the excavation with full details and numerous illustrations and plans is a heavy one, and leaves but a small margin in the case of the smaller subscriptions. To those to whom the Old Testament is merely a book—nothing more—there is nothing to say. The appeal is made to those who would

understand the Book they read, who believe that to comprehend the writings of the old prophets and teachers of ancient Israel, they must know more of the land and people in the midst of which the records took their birth. This country has prided itself on the great part it has taken in making known the Bible. The Palestine Exploration Fund, the pioneer society, led the way in the systematic study of Palestinian geography and research, and one must refuse to believe that practical interest in an enterprise which has *proved its value* will subside.

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The special donations to the excavation comprise the following:—A legacy of £30 from the Executors of the late Miss Arabella Sarah Deacon; Sir Robert Puller, Col. H. J. Hope-Edwards, and James Hilton, Esq., £10 each; James Melrose, Esq., £8; Rev. Thomas Crawford, F. D. Mocatta, Esq., and S. Melville Bergheim, Esq., £5 each; smaller amounts, £2 2*s.*; in all, £85 2*s.*—bringing the total up to £681 7*s.* 8*d.*

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It has come to the knowledge of the Committee that antiquities are being sold in Jerusalem and elsewhere as coming from the excavations at Abû Shusheh. In every case where it has been possible to test this, the nature of the object has shown the statement to be false, intended obviously to give a fictitious value or interest to the object sold. Those engaged in the illicit antiquity trade seldom, if ever, give true information as to the source of the objects in which they deal.

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Mr. Macalister has transferred for the present his working force from the excavation of the ancient town to the adjoining necropolis, feeling that it is necessary to investigate the tombs while the work is under his control; for the systematic tomb robbery by natives working surreptitiously now results in the total loss of all historic evidences. Objects found in this way are sold to dealers, who dare not name their correct source to the travellers who greedily buy them with fictitious attributions. In this way all their value is lost. Mr. Macalister finds that a large proportion of these tombs have already been thus searched by natives, but not always exhaustively. In one tomb he has found a bronze signet ring, upon which is engraved a representation of the head (bearded) of our Lord. From a coin found in the same

tomb and the type of the head, the date would appear to be early fourth century. In another tomb he has found a seal with a female head, possibly that of the Virgin Mary. The tombs opened belong either to a Maccabean or to an early Christian period.

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Sir Charles Wilson visited Gezer in March last, and found the excavations being carried out by Mr. Macalister in a very thorough and efficient manner. He proposes to give some of his impressions on the work done at the Annual Meeting on July 6th.

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Dr. Merrill, United States Consul at Jerusalem, writes that the villagers of *Silwân* (Siloam) have recently discovered an ancient drain about 500 feet south of the "Fountain of the Virgin" in the Kidron Valley. The drain runs in a north-westerly direction, and may possibly be a continuation of that found by Sir C. Warren, in the Tyropœon Valley, beneath the south-west angle of the Haram Area. Dr. Merrill examined the drain and measured a continuous length of 630 feet. A full description of the discovery will appear in the next *Quarterly Statement*.

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Mr. Hanauer reports that an artesian boring has been made in a garden south of the German settlement, about $1\frac{2}{3}$ mile south west of the Jaffa Gate, close to the railway station. Water was found about 100 feet down. We hope to receive shortly a fuller account, with details of the strata, &c., and other interesting particulars.

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Dr. Baroody, of Beirût, to whom we are indebted for the facsimile of the "Lion Seal" (p. 288), has also sent us a photograph and a short description of a Samaritan MS. of the Pentateuch, which would appear to be the oldest of its kind. A short account of this interesting discovery will appear in the next number.

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The monograph on *The Marissa Tombs* is now well advanced in the press. The proofs have received the final corrections of the authors, and the plates in illustration are so nearly finished that the Committee hope to be able to show them at the Annual General Meeting on July 6th. The circumstances under which the original photographs were taken—in subterranean darkness—have made

their reproduction a work of unusual difficulty and care. The complete volume will conform in size and type with the other quarto publications of the Palestine Exploration Fund. There will be numerous full-page illustrations, many of them coloured, besides blocks with the text. The latter extends to about ninety pages.

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Through the kindness of Dr. Sellin the Fund has received an early copy of the report which he has prepared on his excavations on the site of "Taanach by the waters of Megiddo." The report will be more fully reviewed in the next number. It will suffice here to mention that his discoveries in many cases, such as infant sacrifices and foundation sacrifices, confirm those made, almost simultaneously, by Mr. Macalister at Gezer. No trace of the Neolithic race, so much in evidence at Gezer, has been found at Taanach; but, on the other hand, the Semitic people, Amorites or Canaanites, at the two places seem to have reached an identical stage of civilisation. No evidence of a continuous Hebrew occupation has come to light at Taanach, which remained Canaanite until its destruction in the eighth century B.C. The cuneiform tablets discovered had apparently belonged to a small library kept in a terra-cotta box of which fragments were found—a custom throwing light on Jer. xxxii, 14.

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The ruins of the palace, or khân, at Mashetta, near the Haj road east of Jordan, which were first brought to notice by Canon Tristram, were presented some time ago by the Sultan to the German Emperor. In September, 1903, a thin veneer of stone, with the beautiful sculpture attached to it, was cut off the face of the masonry by Dr. Schumacher, who conveyed the slabs by rail to Beirût and shipped them thence to Berlin. It is understood that, in ordering the practical destruction of this remarkable and unique monument, the Emperor acted upon the advice of several eminent German Orientalists and archæologists. It was at first intended to make plaster casts only, but a consideration of the danger to which the building would be exposed during the construction of the railway to Mecca, and a desire to rescue it from unscientific destruction, led to a change in the original intention. In consequence, it is alleged, of the requirements of the Ottoman law, which forbids the export of antiquities, only two-thirds of the sculpture was carried away.

A new colony of the German Temple Society, which bears the name *Hamidieh-Wilhelma*, in honour of the Sultan and the German Emperor, has been established about 2½ miles north-east of *Yehûdieh* — a village where the tomb of Judah is shown. The colony shows every sign of becoming as prosperous as the other settlements of the Society.

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In June last year the German Emperor made a grant of £1,300, partly from German and partly from Prussian State funds, in aid of the excavations of the German Palestine Society, at *Tell Mutsellim* (Megiddo). Trenches were opened in the autumn of 1903 under the direction of Dr. Benzinger, and they were continued during the spring of the present year by Dr. Schumacher. Important discoveries have been made, and a report upon them will appear in the first number of the Journal of the Society for 1905.

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Those who have traversed the long and rugged path which till lately was the only route between Jerusalem and Nablûs, will be glad to know that the new carriage road is now ready as far as Sinjîl. The new railway from Damascus to Mecca is advancing rapidly, and a correspondent in "Home Notes" (Jerusalem) supplies some interesting particulars of its progress. The line is now complete for 200 kilometres, and extends south of Ammân. In the course of a journey between Ammân and Damascus it was striking to notice the extraordinary increase in the Circassian population during the last 10 years. In Ammân itself it must have more than tripled itself. Moreover, this increase is being maintained, and, in addition to numbers of newly-finished houses in parts where formerly not a house was visible, there are now crowds of immigrants living temporarily in tents. The slopes behind the railway station at Ammân were thickly dotted with the tents of the soldiers, for it is a military line, constructed by military engineers and soldiers. The carriage in which the writer travelled, and apparently also the rolling stock of the line generally, had been made in Germany, and it was labelled "Made at Elsenach, South Germany."

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The construction of the Haifa–Damascus Railway is being pushed forward with great vigour. The line is now open to the Jordan bridge, *Jisr el-Mujâmia'*, and thence there is a carriage road for the

transport of material to the hot springs in the Yarmûk Valley below Gadara. The bridge over the Yarmûk is ready for the iron girders, and work is being pushed forward in the valley of the Yarmûk. It is expected that the line will be completed to *Mezerîb* in a year's time. The seven German engineers have left and the work is now entirely in Turkish hands.

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The Sunday School Convention was held for the first time in Jerusalem last May. The Delegates, about 1,300 in number, came chiefly from the United States. Those who represented Great Britain were only about 350 in number. Most of the meetings were held in a huge tent hired for the occasion and fitted to seat about 2,000 people. It was pitched on the old camping ground of the German Crusaders, between the traditional Godfrey's tree and the great road leading from the Bâb el-Zahireh northwards. Special arrangements were made by Mr. R. A. S. Macalister to show parties of the Convention over the excavation works, and to explain to them personally the various features of interest.

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Dr. Torrance writes from Tiberias on May 23rd: "We have had an exceedingly cool year so far. Yesterday was the first really hot day, 105° in the shade. The peasants are busy with the barley harvest, and the prospects in this district are fair, although the rainfall has been below the average. Locusts are very destructive in the Hieromax (Yarmûk) Valley, and in the Jordan Valley south of the lake. The Tiberias district is suffering a little, but not much."

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Dr. Torrance is negotiating for the purchase of Magdala and the southern half of the Plain of Gennesareth for industrial work in connection with the United Free Church of Scotland Sea of Galilee Mission.

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One of the Jewish colonists has applied for a monopoly of steam transport on the Sea of Galilee for the next 50 years.

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The London Jews' Society's hospital in Ṣafed was to be opened on May 31st.

It may be well to mention that plans and photographs alluded to in the reports from Jerusalem and elsewhere cannot all be published, but they are preserved in the office of the Fund, where they may be seen by subscribers. Those sent by Mr. Macalister illustrating the excavations at Gezer which are not reproduced in his quarterly report are held over for the final memoir.

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A number of lectures are to be delivered in Scotland and the provinces on the Fund's excavations at Gezer, and it is hoped that where arrangements have not yet been made, subscribers and those interested in the work will communicate through the Local Secretary.

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The attention of subscribers is called to a work by Sir Charles Warren, entitled "The Ancient Cubit and our Weights and Measures." He brings evidence to show that all weights and measures (except those of the metrical system) are derived from one source—the double-cubit cubed of Babylonia.

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The Museum and Library of the Palestine Exploration Fund at Jerusalem are in the Bishop's Buildings, near the Tombs of the Kings, where the use of a room has been kindly permitted by the Rev. Dr. Blyth, Bishop in Jerusalem and the East. The Museum is open daily, except Sundays, and the Honorary Secretary, Dr. D'Erf Wheeler, will give all information necessary.

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The "Flora of Syria, Palestine, and Sinai," by the Rev. George E. Post, M.D., Beirût, Syria, containing descriptions of all the Phaenogams and Acrogens of the region, and illustrated by 441 woodcuts, may be had at the office of the Fund, price 21*s.*

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The income of the Society from March 17th, 1904, to June 18th, 1904, was—from Annual Subscriptions and Donations, including Local Societies and a legacy of £30, £383 18*s.* 2*d.*; from lectures, including donations, £41 10*s.* 9*d.*; from sales of publications, &c., £65 18*s.* 3*d.*; total, £491 7*s.* 2*d.* The expenditure during the same period was £590 8*s.* 5*d.* On June 18th the balance in the bank was £332 7*s.* 10*d*

Subscribers who have not yet paid their contributions for this year will much facilitate the Committee's efforts by sending their subscriptions, the outgoings on the excavations at Gezer being just now a heavy drain on their funds.

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Subscribers to the Fund are reminded that, whilst the receipt of every subscription and contribution is promptly acknowledged by the Acting Secretary, they will henceforth be published annually, and not quarterly. A complete List of Subscribers and Subscriptions for 1903 is published in a separate form.

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Subscribers in U.S.A. to the work of the Fund will please note that they can procure copies of any of the publications from the Rev. Professor Theo. F. Wright, Honorary General Secretary to the Fund, 42, Quincy Street, Cambridge, Mass.

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The Committee will be glad to communicate with ladies and gentlemen willing to help the Fund as Honorary Secretaries. The following gentlemen have kindly consented to act:—W. H. Bramwell, Esq., Bow, Durham; the Rev. Isaac Rooney, in place of the Rev. F. W. Cox, deceased, South Australia; the Rev. W. T. Reeder, Bradford Vicarage, Taunton, in succession to the Rev. C. W. Raban, resigned.

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The Acting Secretary has been engaged upon the preparation of a small photo-relief map of Palestine, on a scale of 10 miles to the inch. It has been made from the large raised map published in 1893, and contains all the principal biblical sites and their altitudes. All the chief topographical features are faithfully reproduced, and students of the Bible will find it an indispensable guide. Fuller particulars may be had on application to the office, where the map may be seen.

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Subscribers and others may be reminded that the new Raised Map of Palestine, constructed from the Surveys of the Palestine Exploration Fund, and other sources, by the Acting Secretary, is ready. It is on the scale of $6\frac{1}{4}$ miles to the inch, and measures $3' 6'' \times 2' 6''$. It has already been used with great success by Professors of Old Testament history, and by teachers in Sunday Schools, and may be especially recommended for large classes of students. Further particulars may be had on application.

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A complete set of the *Quarterly Statements*, 1869–1903, containing the early letters, with an Index, 1869–1892, bound in the Palestine Exploration

Fund cases, can be had. Price on application to the Acting Secretary 38, Conduit Street, W.

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Subscribers of one guinea and upwards will please note that they can still obtain a set of the "Survey of Palestine," in four volumes, for £7 7*s.*, but the price has been increased to the public to £9 9*s.* The price of single volumes to the public has also been increased. Applications should be made to the Acting Secretary.

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The price of a complete set of the translations published by the Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society, in 13 volumes, with general index, bound in cloth, is £10 10*s.* A catalogue describing the contents of each volume can be had on application to the Secretary, 38, Conduit Street.

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The Museum at the office of the Fund, 38, Conduit Street (a few doors from Bond Street), is open to visitors every week-day from 10 o'clock till 5, except Saturdays, when it is closed at 2 p.m.

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Photographs of the late Dr. Schick's models (1) of the Temple of Solomon, (2) of the Herodian Temple, (3) of the Haram Area during the Christian occupation of Jerusalem, and (4) of the Haram Area as it is at present, have been received at the office of the Fund. Sets of these four photographs, with an explanation by Dr. Schick, can be purchased by applying to the Secretary, 38, Conduit Street, W.

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Branch Associations of the Bible Society, all Sunday Schools within the Sunday School Institute, the Sunday School Union, and the Wesleyan Sunday School Institute, will please observe that by a special Resolution of the Committee they will henceforth be treated as subscribers and be allowed to purchase the books and maps (by application only to the Secretary) at reduced price.

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The Committee acknowledge with thanks the following :—

"Recueil d'Archéologie Orientale." Tome VI, Livraisons 6–12. From the Author, Professor Clermont-Ganneau, M.I. *Sommaire:*—§ 11. Le chrisme constantinien selon Mas'oûdi. § 12. Une nouvelle chronique samaritaine. § 13. L'inscription israélite de l'aqueduc de Siloé. § 14. *Fiches et notules.* § 15. Le calendrier dit "des Arabes" à l'époque grecque. § 16. La Peregrinatio dite de sainte Sylvie. § 17. La diaconesse Sophie, nouvelle Phœbé. § 18. Papyrus et ostraka araméens d'Éléphantine. § 19. La nouvelle inscription phénicienne du Temple d'Echmoun à Sidon. § 20. Sur diverses inscriptions de Palestine publiées par M. Dalman. § 21. Objets épigraphiques de la collection Ustinow. § 22. Nouvelles inscriptions de Palestine.

*See* further "Foreign Publications," pp. 282 *sqq.*, below.

The Committee will be glad to receive donations of Books to the Library of the Fund, which already contains many works of great value relating to Palestine and other Bible Lands. A catalogue of Books in the Library will be found in the July *Quarterly Statement*, 1893.

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For list of authorised lecturers and their subjects, write to the Secretary

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Whilst desiring to give publicity to proposed identifications and other theories advanced by officers of the Fund and contributors to the pages of the *Quarterly Statement*, the Committee wish it to be distinctly understood that by publishing them in the *Quarterly Statement* they neither sanction nor adopt them.

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## Form of Bequest to the Palestine Exploration Fund.

I give to the Palestine Exploration Fund, London, the sum of _____ to be applied towards the General Work of the Fund; and I direct that the said sum be paid, free of Legacy Duty, and that the Receipt of the Treasurer of the Palestine Exploration Fund shall be a sufficient discharge to my Executors.

*Signature* _____

*Witnesses* { _____ _____ _____ }

NOTE.—*Three Witnesses are necessary in the United States of America: Two suffice in Great Britain.*

# EIGHTH QUARTERLY REPORT ON THE EXCAVATION OF GEZER.

1 *March*—31 *May*, 1904.

By R. A. Stewart Macalister, M.A., F.S.A.

## § I.—Preliminary.[1]

The work during the past three months was interrupted only on Good Friday and the following day. As will be seen from the plan (Plate I), a trench (partly excavated in the previous quarter) has been carried across the Eastern Hill from wall to wall; the greater part of the city wall on the south side has been traced; and a 40-foot trench has been commenced and partly carried over the Western Hill.

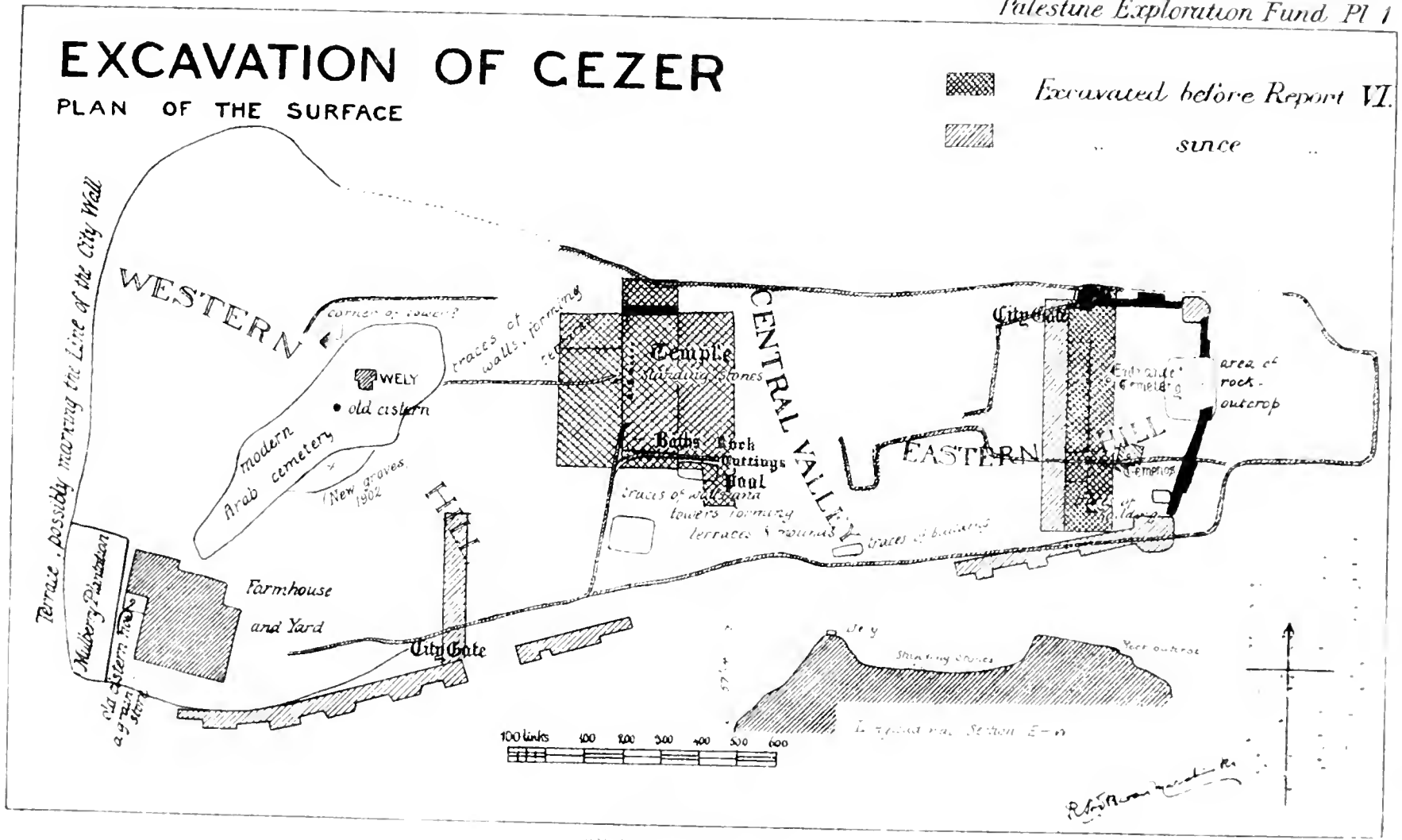
There are many drawbacks to pitting various sections of the mound with disconnected trenches, the chief being the difficulty of establishing the connection of corresponding strata, especially when a different number of strata are found in the débris of the mound in different places, as is the case at Gezer. On the Eastern Hill the average number is four; in the central valley I have found three at the north end, six at the south; the new trench on the Western Hill has revealed eight. But time and money fail to carry out the ideal method of trenching regularly from end to end; and as the period allowed by the Ottoman law was drawing to a close, the necessity became pressing to test the soil of the Western Hill, which is perhaps the most important part of the *tell*. The trench dug is the most westerly that can be carried right across the mound from north to south without encroaching on the modern cemetery.

In point of results this quarter ranks high among the seasons spent on the excavation. It is satisfactory to record that a specimen

[1] [Through an unfortunate oversight—for which Mr. Macalister is in no way responsible—a sentence was inadvertently dropped at the commencement of the paragraph (p. 109, line 4), in the last report. "This particular cave" refers, in point of fact, to the large double cave at the north end of the ancient place of sacrifice, described and illustrated in the report of October 1903.—Ed.]

# EXCAVATION OF CEZER

PLAN OF THE SURFACE



of cuneiform writing has at last made its appearance. Where there is one tablet there can hardly fail to be more, and I shall probably concentrate most of the future work on the Western Hill, which has yielded this document, assuming, as seems not impossible, that funds will not be forthcoming to complete the excavation of the whole mound thoroughly within the period allowed by the law. Besides the tablet, a considerable number of objects of minor importance, but of no little interest, have come to light, as well as the Amorite city gate, the latter a very remarkable architectural monument.

The firman in its original form lapses on June 14th next. It has been announced in the Beirût newspapers that the application for its extension, made last Christmas, had been granted, but as yet no official intimation has reached the Office of Public Instruction or the British Consulate in Jerusalem.[1]

## § II.—An Additional Note on the High-Place Alignment.

The great alignment of rude pillar-stones remains uncovered, and is naturally the chief centre of attraction for visitors to the excavations. In April I had the pleasure of a visit from Dr. Max Blanckenhorn, Privatdocent of the University of Erlangen, who has made a careful study of Palestinian geology. From a minute scientific examination which he made of the pillar-stones an interesting fact was learned, namely, that all *but one* are of the local stone. The exception is the monolith numbered VII on Plate VII of *Quarterly Statement*, January, 1903. It shows peculiarities in its texture not found in the local stone, but shared by the limestone of Jerusalem and some other places; from one of these sources the stone must have come.

In archæology, as in every other science, the solution of one problem often leads to another, perhaps even more perplexing than the first. This observation of Dr. Blanckenhorn's very simply explains a groove cut over one face of the stone (shown in a sketch on the Plate already referred to), which has been a puzzle ever since the alignment was brought to light. It must have been cut to prevent the rope with which the stone was dragged from slipping off the head of the monolith.

[1] Since writing the above, an official telegram announcing the issue of the permit has been received at the Consulate.

But a far more difficult question is raised. Why did the Gezerites go to a distance for one stone of their series, when it would appear that the local stone was sufficient to fulfil all the requirements of their High Place? No answer can be given definitely to this question, and in the absence of any documents bearing on the history of the High Place it is unlikely that the true answer will ever be determined. A number of plausible guesses is all we can hope to put forward. Possibly some wealthy resident imported the stone from a distance at his own charge, in order to make a display of munificence. Possibly the stone was cut in some especially sacred locality—an interesting suggestion if we could be sure that Jerusalem was its actual provenance. Possibly it was a sacred stone from some other city or tribe, captured and set up in the Gezer Temple as a battle trophy, like the ark of Yahweh in the Temple of Dagon.[1]

In any case this additional detail is confirmatory of the view I have always held, that the alignment is not the monument of one act of building, but the result of a growth, stone by stone, perhaps extending over a period of years.

## § III.—A Peculiar Rock-cutting.

Those who have followed this series of reports will have formed an idea of the frequency with which the rock underlying the strata of débris is found to have been cut or worked before any buildings were erected upon it. Caves, cisterns, quarries, scarps, cup-marks, olive-presses, are found at the bottom of almost every pit which is sunk through the later remains. These have nearly all a uniform character, and a description of one suffices to give an idea of a whole class.

One cutting, or rather group of cuttings, is, however, unique, and I am at a loss to formulate any theory to explain it. It consists of a rectangular area, 25 feet long and 15 feet 5 inches across, scarped in the rock to a maximum depth of 5 feet. The

[1] [On the Moabite stone Mesha boasts that he took from Nebo the אראלי יהוה and *dragged* them before Chemosh. The reference here is possibly to pillars used as fire-altars; the stones in the Gezer high-place, on the other hand, having rounded tops, could not be so used. The verb employed is סחב, *cp.* especially 2 Sam., xvii, 13: "moreover if he withdraw himself into a city, then shall all Israel bring *ropes* to that city and we will *drag* it into the river," &c.—Ed.]

long axis deviates by 8 degrees from the present direction of magnetic north. The surface of the rock dips toward the south, and (as the drawings show) the scarp has had to be eked out with rude masonry. There is a very slight fall toward the south in the floor of the scarped area.

A cup-mark has been cut in each of the northern angles of the scarped area: the cups are 1 foot 6 inches across, 1 foot 1 inches deep. There are two larger marks of a similar character, 1 feet in diameter, in connection with the system, whose relative positions are marked on the plan. There are also two cisterns, one outside the area to the north, the other near to its southern extremity: the latter, which is of considerable size, has some rough steps at the entrance, suggesting that it has been deepened from a previous troglodyte cave. Several fragments of skulls, apparently of the thick type associated with the primitive inhabitants, were found in the northern cistern.

The north wall of the scarped area is continued westward, and a small cave has been cut in it at the point where it ends. This cave is oval, 11 feet long, 6 feet 9 inches broad, and 3 feet 8 inches high. There is another cup-mark in the floor of this cave, at the western end.

That the whole system of rock-cutting here described is very ancient is proved (as in the case of the large Place of Sacrifice) by the antiquity of the later débris that covered it.

Various attempts have been made, both by myself and my visitors, to guess at a purpose for this cutting. One or two of these suggestions are recorded here with the reasons against them in order to aid, by the process of exclusion, the determination of its true *raison d'être*. That it has some connection with primitive religion is very naturally the first idea which presents itself; and it derives a certain amount of colour from the fact that not only is it close to the troglodyte crematorium, but two cups in the rock to the east of the scarps seem to link the cup-mark system surrounding the mouth of that excavation with the scarps of the rock-cutting now under discussion. On the other hand we have already found what has been plausibly identified with a place of troglodyte worship, large enough to have served the requirements of the scanty population at that early date: it is not likely that a second would exist, and still less likely that the two should, in arrangement, be so dissimilar. It has also been suggested that the scarped area might

be a catchment basin for water for the cistern. This also is possible, but the shape of the area is against it: we should rather have expected it to be fan-shaped, with the cistern in the apex, and for the evidently purposeful position of the cup-marks in the northern corners of the area it would be difficult to imagine a reason. A last suggestion is that we may have here the comparatively elaborate courtyard of a house on which temporary structures were erected for summer use (precisely as in the modern village), with a cave for sleeping, and cup-hollows for holding vessels with rounded bottoms in an upright position. The corners of the scarps in which they are placed would offer an additional support to large vessels. Against this view might be argued that such a dwelling is not likely to be abnormal; if it were merely a house courtyard excavations comparable with it should be forthcoming in other parts of the *tell*. So far, however, it is a solitary specimen. Again, in the early times to which this cutting must be referred, large vessels were generally made with flat bottoms, and did not need the artificial support of cup-hollows and scarp-corners to make them stand upright.

## § IV.—Buildings.

The city walls and gate excepted, all the buildings unearthed have been dwelling-houses and their appurtenances. The walls and gate form the subject of the following section: in the present a few words are all that need be said of the rest of the masonry remains.

As mentioned in Section I no fewer than eight successive strata of buildings were found on the Western Hill; the total depth of the débris was here 38 feet 6 inches, a depth nearly 10 feet greater than that found elsewhere in the mound—except, of course, in the great 50-foot reservoir.

The only noteworthy structure found in this mass of building was a granary, 12 feet long and 5 feet across. It is the chamber in which the man is seated in the accompanying photograph (Fig. 1). This granary contains rather more than a ton of corn—nearly 600 baskets full were carried away by the basket girls. The grain in this, as in all other granaries uncovered, is charred. In some cases this certainly is due to a fire at the granary—in one example the incinerated bones of a man, presumably the proprietor, were found among the ruins. In other cases the condition of the grain

is perhaps the result of what may be described as spontaneous combustion, which I am informed takes place when grain is incautiously left covered up for too long a time: a serious loss of this nature is said to have recently befallen an inhabitant of Beit Jibrîn.

Another granary was found at the northern end of the trench on the Eastern Hill. This consisted of a number of circular structures, each about 5 feet in diameter, containing corn and *kursenni*—the latter a species of vetch used for camel food.

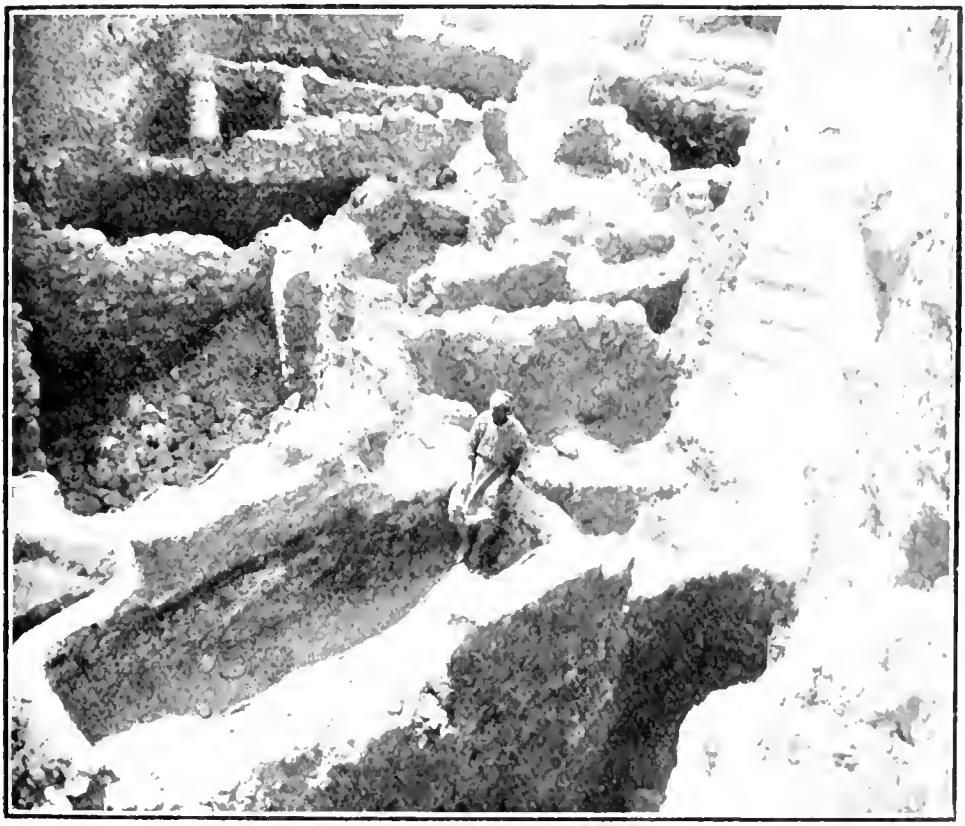


FIG. 1.—Granary.

## § V.—THE CITY WALLS AND CITY GATES.

The recent excavations have put us in a position to re-open the difficult question of the chronology of the city walls, with a more reasonable prospect of arriving at a solution of the problem than at any previous stage of the examination of the mound.

With reference to the plan on Plate I, I must remark that owing to the small scale it is impossible to represent any but the outermost wall. The inner walls run in a parallel course with it all

round the *tell*. Also it should be remarked that it has been found necessary to exaggerate the projection of towers, as if drawn in proper proportion some of them would not be distinguishable.

In discussing the chronology of the walls the fixed point from which we start is that already formulated in previous reports—that the rude earth rampart, with stone facing, sloping on the outside and vertical inside, which runs round the entire *tell* underneath all other débris, is the oldest fortification of which we have any traces. Whether to assign it to the pre-Semitic population or to the earliest occupation of the Semites was not clear until evidence was found confining standing stones to the religion of the Semitic people. As, fortunately for us, a *maṣṣêbah* was found at a place where this ancient rampart was ruined, interrupting its course, it became clear that the rampart is earlier than the erection of the pillar-stone, and was out of use when the latter was set up. It may, therefore, be taken as definitely established that the earth rampart is a relic of the aboriginal inhabitants.

This point gained we now take the other walls into consideration. It is curious that the first question that presents itself is one which might be supposed so simple as to be unnecessary: namely, with how many walls have we to deal? That the answer to this question is not so easy as might have been expected, and that I myself was in error in the first answer that I gave to it, are among the evil consequences of being compelled to dig promiscuously in different parts of a mound instead of turning over the whole step by step.

In the *Quarterly Statement* of April, 1903, I enumerated three walls, exclusive of the earth-rampart. These were:—

I. A wall parallel with the outer wall but older (as the outer wall runs partly over it) and confined to the Eastern Hill. At the time of writing that report this wall had been found to stop abruptly with a fair face just inside the limits of the trench, and the expectation was recorded that in digging the next trench it would be found that this face would prove to be the eastern jamb of a gate. No trace of this wall was identified in the central valley.

II. A large wall with towers, obviously surrounding the whole mound and outside all other remains.

III. A wall parallel with the outer wall but confined, as it seemed, to the central valley. This was assumed to be of date

subsequent to the settlements on the Eastern Hill, and therefore later than the other walls.

The result of the most recent excavations has been to reduce these three to two. The walls numbered I and III in the above list are one and the same. The third is continuous with a large wall that had already been found in the trenches on the Eastern Hill, but which came to an abrupt end with a square-cut face and did not reappear again to the eastward. Owing to this interruption of continuity, and partly owing to its being associated with a stepped bath and some other later constructions, it was not at the time recognised as a city wall. As a matter of fact it overlaps (I), and with it forms a very large "hit-and-miss" gateway, resembling the Jaffa and Damascus Gates of Jerusalem. No door-posts were found, nor yet thresholds; owing to the fall of the rock the present top of the outer jamb is actually below the level of the foundation of the inner jamb—this will appear in a sectional elevation that will be published in the final memoir—and the gateway is extraordinarily wide. It is not therefore a matter of surprise that the connection of the two walls is not at first sight apparent. The clear space between the jambs of the gateway is nearly 40 feet wide, and the length of the tower containing it is nearly 148 feet. The total length of the Damascus Gate of Jerusalem is only 90 feet, and the breadth of the passage between it not quite 20 feet. There is no evidence to show how this gate was closed against intruders.

This identification disposes at once of the *relative* chronology of the city walls. There never was any doubt that the outer wall is later than Wall I, as, in one place exposed, and possibly in more, it is carried over its ruined upper surface. The relation to the outer wall to Wall III was always more doubtful: but now that Walls III and I are shown to be identical, it becomes clear that the outer wall, as a whole, is the latest fortification, and that I and III together form an earlier protection, which henceforth we may speak of as the inner wall. The earth rampart for the greater part of its course seems to lie between these two walls; at the city gate above described—which to distinguish it from that newly uncovered we shall speak of as the north-eastern gate—it crosses under the inner wall and for a space becomes the innermost of the three.

Their *absolute* chronology is, however, not so easily arrived at. We start with three literary references to the fortifications of Gezer that have come down to us—the passage in 1 Kings ix, 16, which seems to imply (but not necessarily) that Solomon built or repaired them; 1 Maccabees ix, 52, which states that Bacchides fortified Gazara; and 1 Maccabees xiii, 48, which tells us that Simon made the city "stronger than it was before." The first of these is uncertain, and does not definitely inform us that Solomon had anything to do with building the city walls; the excavation has shown that no universal fire was caused in Gezer by the King of Egypt, and, perhaps, all that Solomon had to do was a certain amount of local rebuilding and repairs.

In any case, if these passages allow us to look for Solomonic, Seleucid, and Maccabean workmanship in the city walls, we must confine our search to the outer wall; for we now have evidence that the inner wall was ruined and overlaid with later débris long before the time of Solomon. House walls run over its present top, and in a chamber of one of the houses, right above the eastern jamb of the southern city gate, was found a magnificent scarab of Amenhotep III and Queen Thii, a drawing of which will be found in the section devoted to the scarabs discovered during the quarter (Fig. 9). A second scarab found in the débris above the wall at the north-east gate is even more unexpected. It bears the name of Khyan, and if its evidence could be accepted absolutely it would push the date of the ruin of the inner wall to a period at least 500 years before the time of the Tell el-Amarna letters. We may, therefore, fairly call the inner wall the fortification of the earlier Semitic occupation, and the outer that of the later. It may be taken as axiomatic that at no time would the city be without a wall; the date of the final destruction of the inner wall must therefore be within a year or two of the date of the erection of the outer.

I have several times expressed a distrust of the chronology afforded by scarabs, and still await confirmatory evidence of the conclusions arrived at in the above paragraph. For the present we can only say that everything points to the high antiquity of the inner wall. And here I can only hint at a deduction that will follow from the establishment of this result. In the trench on the Western Hill I have said that eight strata of buildings were found. Three of these were later than the inner wall, and lay over it; in the lowermost of these three the scarab of Amenhotep III was

found.[1] Two were contemporary with the wall, and were entered by the gate which will presently be described. Three were below the level of the gate, and therefore older. Of these three only the lowest showed pottery definitely comparable with the pottery of the troglodytes. If the inner wall was already ruined in 1500 B.C. to what date are we to assign these lower strata? These latest chronological results seem to push the troglodytes back well into the fourth millennium B.C.

The present is not the place to enter into elaborate minutiæ respecting the masonry of these walls; this will form a subject of discussion in the final memoir. I need only refer in this report to some details of construction. The inner wall, notwithstanding its high antiquity, is on the whole superior in workmanship to the outer. It has—to judge from the comparatively short length so far exposed—long narrow towers of small projection at intervals of 90 feet in its course. These towers seem to be regularly set out and built to a regular plan.

Not so the second wall, which is a curious patchwork of good and bad masonry. There is no definite order in its towers, which as a general, but not universal, rule are alternately of deep and of shallow projection, and occur at irregular intervals. There are better dressed corner-stones to be found in some of these towers than has been noticed anywhere in the inner wall; some of these corner-stones have drafts with shallow bosses at the centres. But these are individual cases, and the average of the masonry is inferior.

It has many evidences of repatching and rebuilding, a thorough study of which would at present occupy too much space. I have already described and illustrated the very curious north-east tower, in which a solid square block of masonry seems to have been inserted, without bonding, in place of a simple angle, and a sloping curved wall afterwards thrown round it to mask the joints (*see Quarterly Statement*, April, 1903, Plate II). As there are well-dressed stones in the square tower which the original builders would hardly have intended to hide, we must, I think, regard these as two separate constructions to be assigned to different periods; and we may tentatively call the square towers Solomonic (possibly) and

[1] Of course the possibility of contemporary houses being built on the top of the wall, as seems from the story of Rahab to have been the case at Jericho, must not be forgotten.

the rounded coverings which mask them the work of Bacchides or Simon. The south-east angle is identical with this; and in the course of the sides three similar rounded towers have been unearthed, two of them certainly, and one probably, enclosing an original square tower: in one of the former cases the square tower is again an insertion, as shown by the straight joints.

No gate has yet been found in the outer wall, but in the inner wall, in addition to the north-eastern gate, a very remarkable structure has during this quarter been uncovered at the south end of the Western Hill trench. This we shall refer to as the southern gate.

Plate II bears a plan and sectional elevations of the southern gate: the following description may be given.

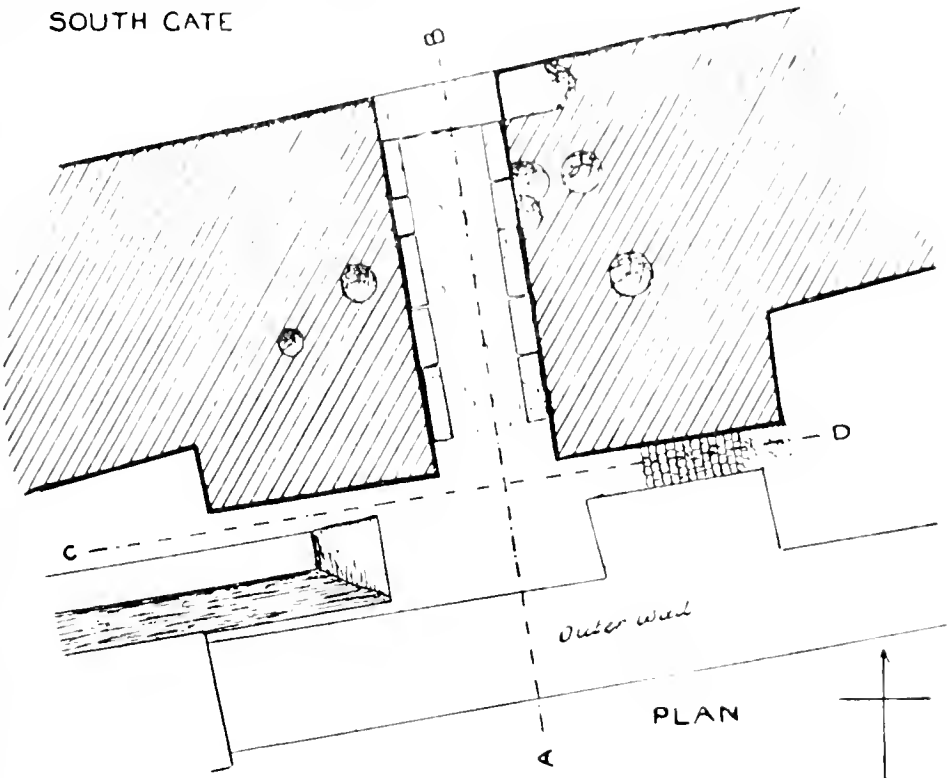
Though the wall as a whole is of stone, the gateway consists of a passage-way between two solid towers of brick. The bricks are sun-baked, and, with a few exceptions, very friable; they are of various colours, white, red, and (principally) buff. The bricks measure (with a certain latitude either way in each dimension) 15 inches by 11 inches by 4 inches. They are laid without any regular attempt made to break joints, in consequence of which wide vertical fissures occur throughout the masses of brickwork.

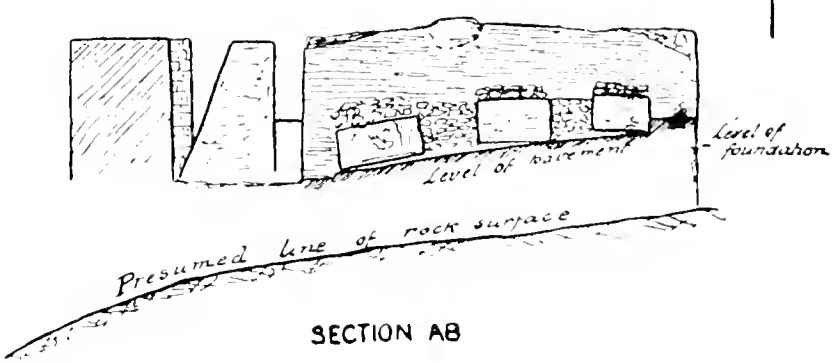
The passage is 9 feet wide and 42 feet 4 inches long. It is roughly paved with stones; the pavement rises gradually from outside to inside, and at its inner (northern) end terminates in a step 2 feet high and 5 feet 6 inches broad, some of the stones in which are highly polished by the tread of feet. When first uncovered it was found to be blocked by a roughly-built stone wall, clearly erected to support a paved street that ran over the brick towers in later times.

On each side of the passage-way the wall is masked for a height of about 6 feet by three massive slabs of stone, set on edge, with rough masonry resting upon them and between each pair. On the west side the slabs are respectively (from outside inwards) 8 feet 10 inches, 8 feet 3 inches, and 7 feet 2½ inches long; on the east they are 8 feet 6 inches, 8 feet 8½ inches, and 6 feet 6½ inches. The inter-spaces between each pair of stones average about 6 feet 5 inches. Behind these stones the faces of the brick towers run. The two outermost stones show evidence, in splintering and other marks, of having been submitted to a powerful fire: probably whatever wooden barrier closed the gate was erected in their

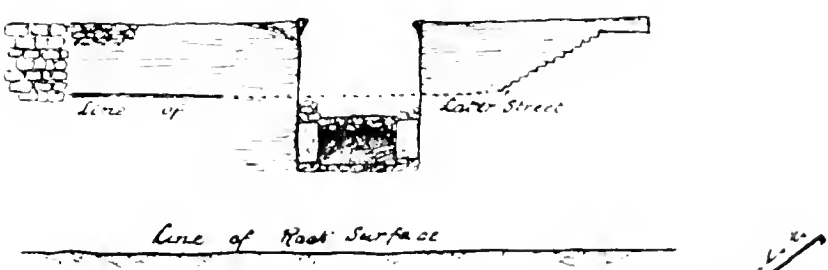
# EXCAVATION OF CEZER

SOUTH GATE

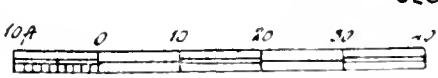



SECTION AB




SECTION CD



neighbourhood and was burnt at some capture of the city. There is no evidence of the nature of this barrier nor of the manner in which it was secured.

The towers remain standing to a total height of about 16 feet. They are simply masses of brickwork, or rather (as it would appear from an examination of places where the surface is destroyed) of rude rubble masonry faced with a more or less thick shell of the brickwork already described. Covering the surface of the bricks are remains of a facing of lime. The lengths of the towers are 28 feet 5 inches and 27 feet 7 inches respectively. The projection of the western tower is less than that of the eastern (respectively 7 feet 10 inches and 13 feet 2 inches), because the whole gate is not set at right angles with the general course of the wall.

One of the most puzzling features of the towers are the circular pits in their present tops. These are marked in the plan: they range from about 4 feet to about 6 feet in diameter, and in depth from a few inches to nearly 5 feet. Some are imperfect and interfere one with another. I thought at first that they were of later date than the original building, and excavated for grain-stores by the inhabitants of the houses built above the wall; but an examination of the bricks show that they form part of the original design; no trace of grain was found in any of them; and as it happened a small grain-store was found belonging to the upper stratum, and partly superposed on one of the pits. They are either too deep or too shallow to afford cover to archers. No other explanation of their use, feasible or inadmissible, has occurred to me.

Another detail which I cannot yet explain (though further excavation westwards may throw light upon it) is the bank of brickwork, faced with lime, that runs parallel to the wall at the western side, and stops abruptly just west of the jamb of the gate. It is vertical on the inner face, oblique on the outer face of the end, and is evidently older than the outer wall, which partly runs over it. At present I can only guess that it may be a more conspicuous fragment of the Pre-Semitic wall than has yet come to light elsewhere, and, in fact, perhaps the western jamb of the gate of this wall. Nothing to correspond has been found in the eastern side: here, in the place where it was expected, was found instead an inward-projecting tower of the outer city wall, intercepting between it and the older brick tower a flight of 12 rudely-built

stone steps, of 1 foot 3 inches tread and 6 inches rise (more or less). These descend to about the level of the tops of the rows of large slabs inside the gate, and no doubt were the steps of a street of later date that ran on at that level past the old gateway. It was found to continue between the brickwork bank and the inner wall, and is marked in the Section C D.

At one point (the indication of which will be found in Section A B) the brickwork on each side of the entrance is corbelled out just below the present tops of the towers. This seems to suggest that the entrance at this place was spanned by a false arch of brick, which possibly formed one support of rows of stone or wooden lintels laid longitudinally. Except this slight trace, there is no evidence to indicate how the passage was roofed, if, indeed, it ever was provided with a cover.

I have omitted from the plan a number of ancient pavements found, partly overlapping one another, around the outsides of the towers, especially on the eastern side of the eastern tower. These clearly antedate the towers, and have no radical connection with them.

The approach to this gate was along the valley road from Kubâb to Abu Shûsheh *via* 'Ain Yerdeh. Near Abu Shûsheh, just under the village threshing-floor, is a mass of projecting rock which divides the head of the valley into two. The southern branch runs to the village, and afterwards proceeds to Saidûn; the northern branch makes straight for the gateway. I sunk a shaft in the valley in search of an old pavement or possibly a heap of rubbish thrown out from the gate, but found nothing. There is a roadway quarried in the rock on the eastern side of the mound that may be the approach to the north-eastern gate. A similar roadway runs up Tell es-Ṣâfi, but as the gate of the city on that mound was not discovered, the connection of the roadway with the approaches to the city was not clear.

## § VI.—The Cuneiform Tablet.

The tablet[1] was found in a comparatively late stratum, contemporaneous with the early part of the period of the Hebrew monarchy, in the trench on the Western Hill, about 150 feet north of the southern city gate. It is hard baked, of compact black clay;

[1] For photographs of the tablet and for a discussion of its contents, see below, pp. 229, *sqq.*

unfortunately there are a good many cracks in its texture, and since uncovering the outer surface has shown a regrettable tendency to scale off in one place. Both faces are convex, and both inscribed. One edge is blank; on the other the lines of writing of each face are carried round till they meet. The top is lost, and also one of the lower corners; the writing is a good deal mutilated in consequence. The dimensions of the tablet as we have it are, length $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches, breadth $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches, thickness, $\frac{3}{4}$ inch.

On one face is a band, $\frac{3}{4}$ inch wide, free from writing, and separated off by a horizontal line above and below. Upon this are stamped four seal-impressions. At the right-hand end are two impressions, end to end, of a seal representing two figures facing one another (one of them bearded) wearing long robes, with uplifted hands adoring a winged figure (perhaps a flying scarabaeus). Between them is a *crux ansata*. At the left-hand end are two impressions, side by side, of a seal bearing the figure of a palm tree. Enlarged drawings of both these seals will be found in Fig. 2. The four seal-impressions are all stamped with their upright axes parallel to the lines of writing.

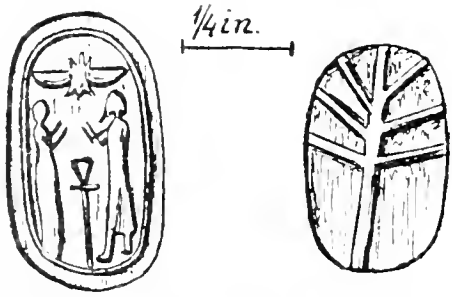



FIG. 2. Seals impressed on the Gezer Tablet.

Below this band of seals are three lines of writing above the fracture, of which the first alone is perfect. Above the band are four lines of writing, all imperfect at the ends owing to the loss of the angle of the tablet.

The second face is completely covered with writing, divided in the middle by a horizontal stroke; above the stroke and under the fracture are five lines of writing, the lower two being perfect; the two next above have been injured slightly, while of the first only the beginning survives. Below the stroke are eight lines of writing; the last of these is a short line of a few characters only, at the end of the sentence; the other seven are all more or less mutilated at the end by the fracture of the angle.

## § VII.—An Inscribed Weight.

The weight described in this section (Fig. 3) is of the now familiar dome shape with a flat base, of a compact purplish stone resembling in texture jasper or basalt, weighing 11·3 grammes, and bearing the inscription 𐅁. It comes from the latest pre-exilic or the earliest post-exilic débris: its exact position was in the narrow indefinable layer between the two strata of building.

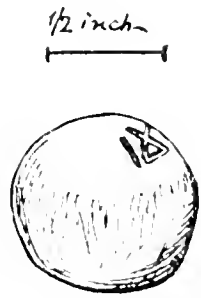



Fig. 3.—Inscribed Weight.

This object is of special importance in that it throws light on a long series of weights with similar inscriptions found from time to time in Palestine, which will no doubt be added to in future explorations, and introduces us to a system of numerical notation which has not, I think, been hitherto tabulated.

The series of weights is as follows:—

| | | | Grammes. | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| (1) Gezer ... | ... | 𐅁 = | 11·3 | |
| (2) Jerusalem | ... | 𐅁𐅁 = | 24·5 | (*Z.D.P.V.*, v. 337). |
| (3, 4) Zakarîya | ... | 𐅁𐅁𐅁 = | 44·6<br>45·6 | (*Excavations in Palestine*, pp. 145, 146). |
| (5) Jerusalem | ... | 𐅁𐅁𐅁𐅁 = | 46 | (*Z.D.P.V.*, v. 337). |
| (6) Jerusalem | ... | 𐅁 = | 90 | (Bliss, *Jerusalem*, p. 267). |
| (7) Tell el-Judeideh | | [?]𐅁 = | 93 | (*Excavations in Palestine*, p. 146). |

I must acknowledge my indebtedness to the kindness of Professor Dalman, of Jerusalem, who promptly answered the inquiries I addressed him for the references and figures relating to Nos. 2 and 5 of the series, of which I had no note in the camp.

It is obvious from the above table that, allowing for small inaccuracies, No. 2 is meant to weigh double, Nos. 3, 4, 5, four times, and Nos. 6, 7, eight times the amount of No. 1. It is also

obvious that the constant sign, 8, is a symbol for the standard; and that the variable signs, I, II, Λ, or ⅂, T, all numerical indications of the multiple of the standard represented by the weights that respectively bear them.

We might, *à priori*, assume, with a fair approach to certainty, that in the Gezer weight I denotes unity, whence it follows that II is 2, Λ or ⅂ 4, and T 8. This assumption seems to be confirmed by a weight recently published by Professor Torrey (*see Quarterly Statement, ante*, p. 179), practically exactly half the Gezer weight, and bearing a Hebrew word meaning "half." The standard is evidently the Babylonian light silver shekel, which differs by a decimal or two only from the Gezer weight. It follows that the explanation of 8 which has been previously given, as for *ou* = *uncia*, is untenable.[1]

The weights inscribed בצף must be referred to a different standard altogether, as they cannot be made to fit arithmetically into this series. The torpedo-shaped weights already described by me (*Quarterly Statement*, July, 1903, p. 197), seem, however, to belong to the system. One of these, weighing 8·68 grammes, had a cross cut on the base. A similar mark has been found on a dome-shaped weight from the upper stratum, during this quarter, weighing 7·05. The average of these is 7·86, which is slightly short of $\frac{3}{4}$ of the 8 standard. It is possible, therefore, that + may represent $\frac{3}{4}$. Further discoveries will, it is hoped, extend the numerical system thus indicated.

FIG. 4.—Inscribed Weight (reduced to half).

During the writing of this report, one more inscribed weight of the same stone, shape, and approximate size came to light. A facsimile of the inscription is given in Fig. 4.[2] This can only mean

[1] [Professor Petrie writes (in a private communication): "There can be no doubt that 8 is *ουγγια*, *uncia*, from dozens of Byzantine weights in Egypt." —ED.]

[2] In this and other figures, when the scale is not expressed or the dimensions not stated in the text of the report, the object is represented full size.

רבע, "quarter," though the ב seems to be of a form new to epigraphy, lacking the characteristic stroke to the right. The weight is probably meant to be half the נצף weights, but it is rather too heavy; it scales 6·11 grammes, while half the heaviest known נצף weight would be 5·105.[1]

## § VIII.—Potters' Stamps and Other Seals.

Hitherto the only legible potters' stamp in Hebrew from Gezer has been the example published July, 1903, p. 204. Special interest therefore attaches to a new specimen from the Hebrew débris on the

Fig. 5.—Hebrew Seal on Jar Handle (reduced to half).

Eastern Hill. It is remarkable, in the first place, for the arrangement of its letters. These are five in number, and instead of being, as usual, in a horizontal line, they are placed between the angles of a pentacle (Fig. 5). On Plate LVI, No. 44 of *Excavations in Palestine* will be found a somewhat similar example. I well remember the difficulty I found in deciphering the latter seal, which was found at Tell Zakarîya, when I was drawing the Plate is question. It did not even occur to me that the symbols in the angles of the pentacle might be letters, and as the Plate shows I detected nothing letter-like in their configuration. However, the Gezer example suggests that in the light which it affords a re-examination of the Zakarîya handle (now in the museum at Jerusalem) is desirable. This I hope to effect at the first convenient opportunity.

For the sake of clearness and accuracy the drawings are made double size with the aid of a camera lucida, and reduced by half in printing.

[1] [It seems more probable that the legend should be restored to read בחצי ("half" shekel). The weight of the stone constitutes a difficulty, unless it be half the Phœnician shekel (14·5 grammes); but on the thorny subject of weights and measures generally it is well to remind ourselves how frequently the use of unfair weights is condemned (*e.g.*, Deut. xxv, 13–16; Am. viii, 5; Lev. xix, 36; Ezek. xlv, 10). The writing is not old, possibly of about the Maccabean period.—Ed.]

The Gezer stamp itself is by no means easy to deal with. The only really distinct characters are two *yods*, occupying adjacent spaces. As it is unlikely that this letter should be doubled in the course of a name we conclude that the one *yod* is the initial, the other the final character. Following this welcome clue we obtain, so far as I can make out, יושבי, though recording considerable doubt in the case of the ו and the ב: the latter letter, indeed, appears to be reversed, like the *yod* on some of the Royal stamps from Ziph. If this reading be correct the name must be an abbreviated form of יושביה (Josibiah), which is found in 1 Chron. iv, 35.[1]

Two stray specimens of the Royal stamps have also to be recorded. They are both of the two-winged type. With the most minute examination I could not detect a single letter of the inscription on the first: of the second enough could be made out to show that the stamp belonged to the "Memshath" series.

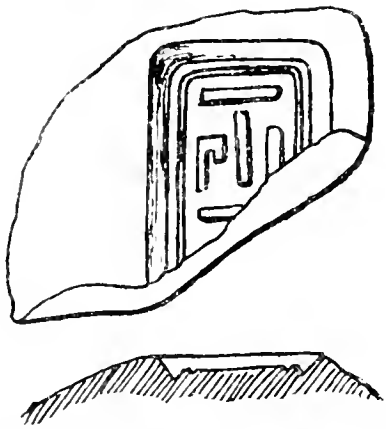


Fig. 6.—Clay Seal Impression (reduced).

One other seal-impression, from the topmost stratum, stamped on a bit of black pottery has come to light. It bears a geometrical device of some kind. The bottom is broken away (*see* Fig. 6).

To make up for the remarkable poverty of Gezer in stamps with Hebrew inscriptions, there is a striking wealth in jar-handles

[1] [One of the *yôds* is certainly a מ, and the ו is probably ל, the ש might possibly be צ. Hence read י לשבמ, *i.e.* לשבמי. A personal name is expected, so שבמי may be an ethnic from Sibmah, שִׂבְמָה (שִׁבְמָה), near Heshbon. If it is the place-name itself, one may note that the modern representative, *Sumia* (Conder, *Quarterly Statement*, 1882, p. 9), has preserved the י. It is curious that if the legend be reversed, one *could* read ירשלם (Jerusalem) with ל reversed. The writing suggests the *late* rather than the *early* monarchy.—Ed.]

with scarab seals and stamped handles of Rhodian amphorae. Of the former many are indecipherable: the most interesting examples discovered during the past quarter are described in a later section. The Rhodian handles, of which by now nearly as many have been found as at Tell Sandahannah, are reserved and will be published all together in the concluding memoir on these excavations. I may, however, mention one handle which shows a detail I never saw on any other. It originally read ΑΓΟΡΑΝΑΚΤΟΥ ΠΑΝΑΜΟΥ. At the end of the month of *Πάνημος* the seal would, of course, be out of date and useless; but in order to save the trouble of cutting a fresh seal it was adapted to serve a fresh term of usefulness during the intercalary month *πάνημος δεύτερος*, by squeezing ΔΕΥΤΕΡΟΥ in very small letters into a narrow space under the original writing.

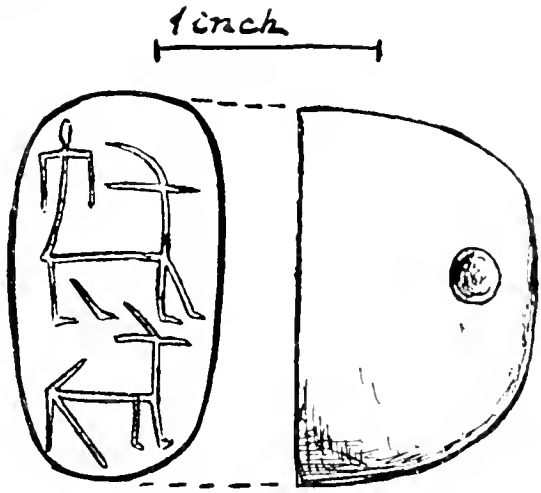



Fig. 7.—Rude Limestone Seal.

In early Hebrew monarchy débris on the Western Hill was found the limestone seal shown in Fig. 7. It is oval, with a perforation for suspension at the top—not penetrating through: there are two corresponding depressions, one on each side, but they do not meet—and on the base a puerile representation of a man and two gazelles. It is curious that the same design, very similarly treated, occurs on a tablet found more than a year ago in rather later débris in the neighbourhood of the temple trench: a drawing was sent to London at the time, but it has not yet been published. In Fig. 8 will be found a scarab and two conical seals of basalt, obviously all the work of one craftsman, which were found in a group in débris of the same period. These show somewhat

similar devices. On the scarab is an ibex, attacked by what seems to be a wolf: notice the star under the body of the ibex. The seal marked *b* in the figure seems to bear a stag: I take the curious forked object above the stag's back to represent horns. There appears to be a star under the stag's body also. The second seal perhaps represents a man and two gazelles, conventionalised into two animals, one with four legs the other with six.

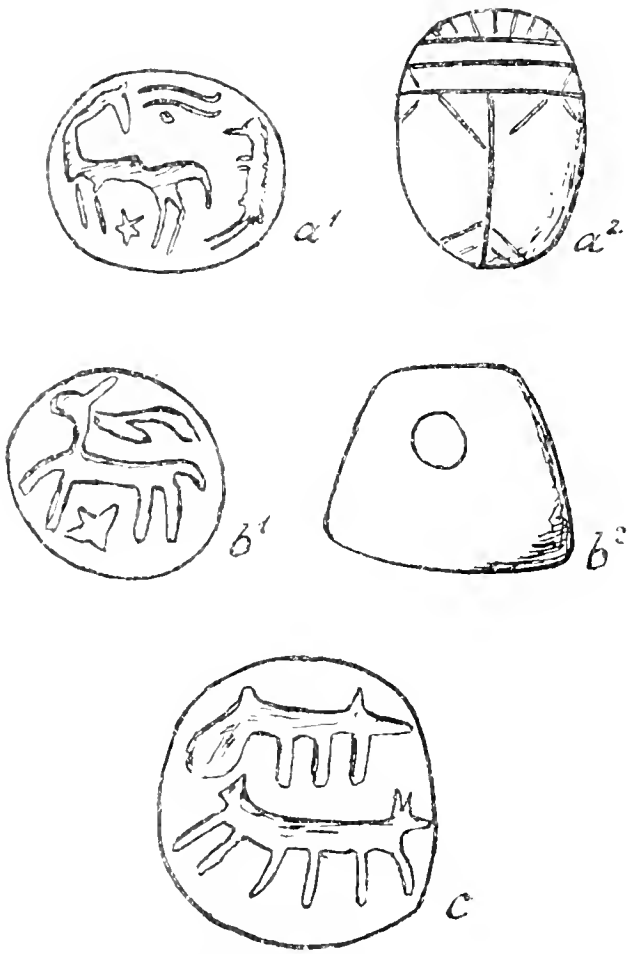



FIG. 8.—Scarab (*a*) and Seals (*b*, *c*) in basalt (reduced).

Horned animals of the deer kind seem to be a favourite subject of Palestinian seals, and several examples from different places have now been found. Whether this be an accident or something analogous to personal or family badges is a question on which we must await further light. Possibly it may not be too far-fetched to quote the Biblical expressions about a person's "horn being exalted" in this connection.[1]

[1] [The possibility that the gazelle and deer were sacred to Ashtôreth may also be mentioned. ED.]

## § IX.—Stone Objects.

The two stone objects of greatest interest found during the quarter (if we except two or three very rude figures which do not at present call for detailed notice) have been a small table of offerings and the fragments of a very fine limestone chequer-board. The first of these objects is of reddish limestone, square, with slightly bevelled edges (the upper being the widest face). It was $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches square, and $\frac{7}{8}$ inch thick; a little less than half of the object is broken away and lost. In the upper face were five hemispherical depressions $1\frac{5}{16}$ inches in diameter arranged in a quincunx. It will be remembered that a similar object, of large size, was found at Tell el-Judeideh; that specimen must have been intended always to remain in one place, while the Gezer example is small and portable.

The chequer-board resembles one found at Tell Zakarîya in having a large number of squares marked (*see Excavations in Palestine*, p. 144), but differs in both the number and disposition of the chequers. The Zakarîya example is square, and has $12 \times 12 = 144$ chequers; the Gezer board measures $12\frac{3}{4}$ inches by $8\frac{1}{2}$ inches by $1\frac{3}{4}$ inches thick, and has $16 \times 11 = 176$ chequers. An interesting study could be made (as I think I have remarked in a previous report) of the variety of Palestinian draughts-boards; there must have been a large number of different games played, as hardly two are found with the chequers similarly disposed. The Gezer board, it should be said, has lost one corner. Both these objects come from the post-exilic stratum.[1]

In an earlier stratum—that containing the scarab of Amenhotep III, and in one of the remarkably prolific chambers of that stratum lying over the southern gate of the inner wall—was found a singularly interesting hoard of pebbles, clearly the stock-in-trade of a lapidary. They are about 70 in number, and nearly all are in process of being manufactured into weights of some definite shape. The following catalogue may be submitted: where not otherwise stated the pebbles are of hæmatite:—

[1] [For Egyptian draughts-boards and draughts-men reference may be made to an interesting article by Mr. W. L. Nash, in the *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archæology*, 1902, pp. 341–348.—Ed.]

(1) Five pebbles of a compact greenish stone, apparently horne-blende; two polished by water wear on the surface, and not worked in any way; one shuttle-shaped stone which apparently fractured while being perforated for a bead; a fragment resembling the head of a polished celt; a small polished pointed fragment.

(2) Eight irregular pebbles of hæmatite on which no work has yet been done.

(3) One similar pebble on which a flat face has been prepared by chipping preparatory to polishing.

(4) Nine pebbles like No. 3, but with the flat face more or less polished. Little or no work done elsewhere on the surface of the stone.

(5) Three pebbles with two such faces polished, the stone having a wedge shape.

(6) Five pebbles illustrating the formation of a torpedo-shaped stone weight. In one there are three principal planes polished, the stone being prismatic in shape; the back is then worked down gradually, and the ends reduced. An apparently complete example weighs 6·4 grammes.

(7) Six pebbles illustrating the formation of a parallelopiped; one of these is jasper, one diorite, one agate, two horneblende, and one hæmatite. The diorite and agate, which seem to have received their final polish, and are very handsome stones, weigh respectively 9·4 and 21·82 grammes.

(8) Nine pebbles in process of being brought to a cylindrical or conical shape by continuously polishing away angles until a curved surface is obtained. A few of these show a small hole in the middle of the end surface, apparently made by some kind of lathe. Five specimens which seem to be sufficiently near completion to make their weights of value amount to 26·09, 20·32, 16·22, 15·35, and 12·82 grammes.

(9) Cylindrical pebble with one side polished smooth, weight 11·77 grames.

(10) Conical pebble of basalt, base, top, and one side polished smooth, weight 23·59.

(11) Fourteen pebbles illustrating the formation of dome-shaped weights. A spherical stone is selected and the base ground down; the dome-shape being arrived at by a gradual process of smoothing off the angles between facets. One of the series is exactly hemi-spherical, like a נצף weight recently published by Professor Barton,

of Bryn Mawr (*American Oriental Society*, vol. xxiv, p. 386); all the others are of the same shape as the weight illustrated in a previous section. The most complete of this series is the largest, which weighs 44·75. The two smallest of the series, which are also the smallest of the hoard, are also nearly finished, they weigh 2·31 and 3·64 respectively.

It will be noticed that several of the above weights fall into the series already described in Section VII. Others must be referrable to another standard.

In addition to weight-making, one lapidary also manufactured polished amulets of shell. Three pieces of shell, the raw material, were found in the hoard, and one small finished amulet, of which, however, he had had the misfortune to break the eye after the drilling was finished.

Before leaving the stone objects I may make a passing reference to a small limestone box, $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches square and $1\frac{1}{4}$ inches deep, divided into three compartments, possibly for keeping different kinds of cosmetics or some such substances apart. It was found in the topmost stratum.

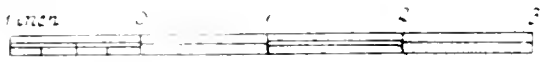
## § X.—Pottery Objects.

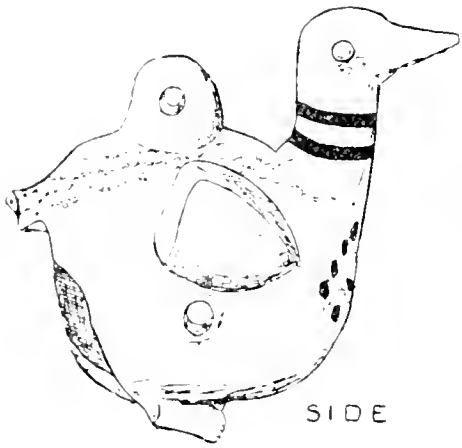
By far the most curious objects in pottery found during the quarter have been discovered in the stratum of buildings above the southern gate—a region that proved rich in remarkable antiquities.

On Plate III four aspects of the model of a bird, apparently a duck, are shown. It is of light yellow pottery, hollow, with short expanded wings, and with legs doubled up and attached to the lower side of the body along their whole length. The figure is ornamented with painted black and red straight and zigzag lines, reproduced in the drawing—the red colour being represented by dots. On the breast is a curious red network, with a black dot in the centre of each space. The eyes (as is almost always the case with animal figures of the kind from Palestine) are small pellets, moulded separately and stuck on; there is a small patch of red colour surrounding them. On the back is a loop for suspension, and under each wing is a perforation. It is curious how often such perforations are found in the sides of animal figures unearthed on the *tell*: this detail is well shown in a fragmentary hollow figure of a sitting animal with curled tail found in the top stratum.

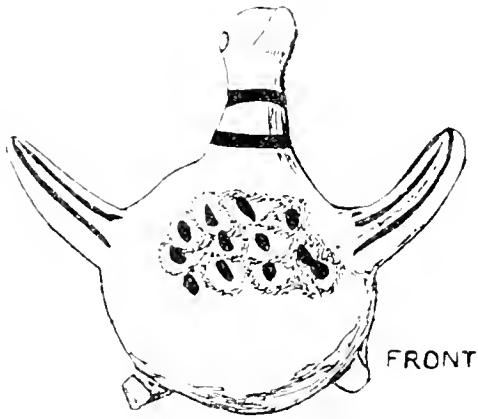
# EXCAVATION OF CEZER

BIRD FIGURE

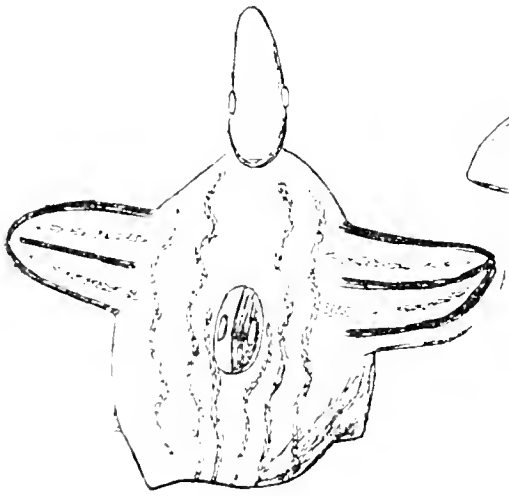




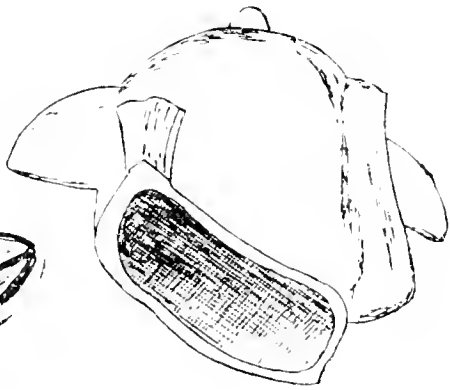
SIDE



FRONT



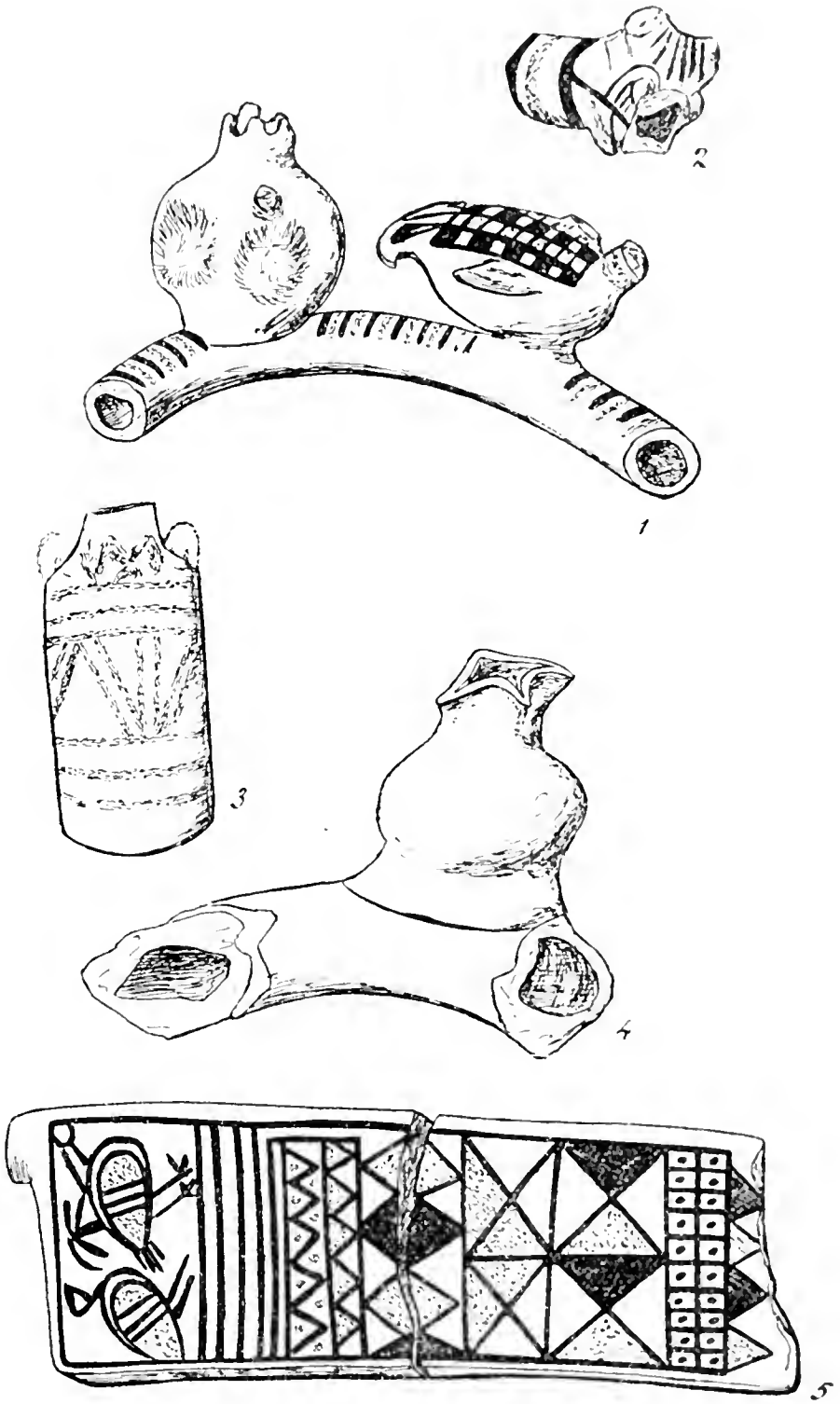
TOP



BASE

# EXCAVATION OF CEZER

GROUP OF POTTERY OBJECTS



The singular group of fragments, some of which are illustrated on Plate IV come from the same place. Fig. 1 is the segment of a circular tube of pottery. If complete the circle would have an internal diameter of $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches; about one-third of the circumference remains. The diameter (external) of the tube is $\frac{7}{8}$ inch. The pottery is of a light Venetian red colour; the upper half of the tube is ornamented with short strokes, alternately red and black. Attached to the tube, and with hollow bodies communicating with its hollow, are alternate figures of birds and pomegranates, one of each remaining on the fragment now being described; there seem to have been three of each. The pomegranate is represented by a little jar, with mouth pinched in and having four points, and with four hollows in the sides. There appears one attachment of a handle, but no second attachment, so it is not clear how the handle was completed. The bird is of the same general character as that above described. It has lost its head, but on the other hand preserves the curious flat fish-like tail. The pomegranate is covered with a dark red wash, the bird ornamented on the back with a chequer of red, black, and uncoloured squares.

The above description assumes that when unbroken the figure was a perfect circle. But it is possible that it terminated in an animal's head like that shown in Fig. 2; the neck is just such a hollow tube, similarly ornamented; the diameter is, however, a full inch, which is a little too large, so that the head cannot belong to No. 1. The object as remaining is 2 inches long: the nose is broken away.

Fragments of another object identical with No. 1, but of larger "bore," were also found. One pomegranate remained, in all respects similar to that figured. No additional light is thrown by it on the question of the completion of the handle. A considerable fragment of a much larger curved tube was with the group; this also was painted with black and red strokes, but shows no signs of having had figures attached to it. These tubes are complete below, so they are not saucer-rims as at first sight they might be taken to be; as a matter of fact (as though to point the contrast), the much broken remains of a saucer-rim was actually found in the same place, with fragments of one pomegranate projecting from it.

Fig. 3 represents a small cylindrical jar with very narrow mouth; the lip and two ear handles which formerly stood on the shoulders

are broken away. It is ornamented with pale red lines and zigzags painted on a cream-coloured slip.

Fig. 4 represents one of two fragments of an object similar to Fig. 1, but larger and coarser. The curvature shows that the internal diameter of the circle was much the same as that in Fig. 1, but the external diameter of the tube is slightly over $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches. The pottery is thick and gritty, black in the broken sections, and covered all over with an Indian red wash. There were apparently five figures standing upon the circle, probably all pomegranates like that figured. These, as in the previously described example, communicate with the hollow of the tube.

It is possible that these objects were lamps, a wick projecting through the narrow mouths of the pomegranates and communicating with oil with which the circular tube was filled. Similarly arranged lamps, standing on circular rims, were discovered at Tell eṣ-Ṣâfi and Tell Sandaḥannah, and will be found described and illustrated in *Excavations in Palestine*.

In Fig. 5 is shown the lid of a pottery casket. One end is broken off; the other end shows a horn that fitted into a socket in the mouth of the casket. The surviving portion, which is broken into two fragments, is $7\frac{1}{4}$ inches long, $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches broad, and $\frac{5}{8}$ inch thick. The pottery is of a Venetian red colour, with a cream-yellow slip; the upper surface bears in black and red the ornamentation shown in the Plate.

Some fine examples of painted ware have been discovered during the season, but for the present they need not be illustrated. Half of a large spindle-whorl was also found; it bore two rudely-scratched bird figures. This object was found in the uppermost stratum.

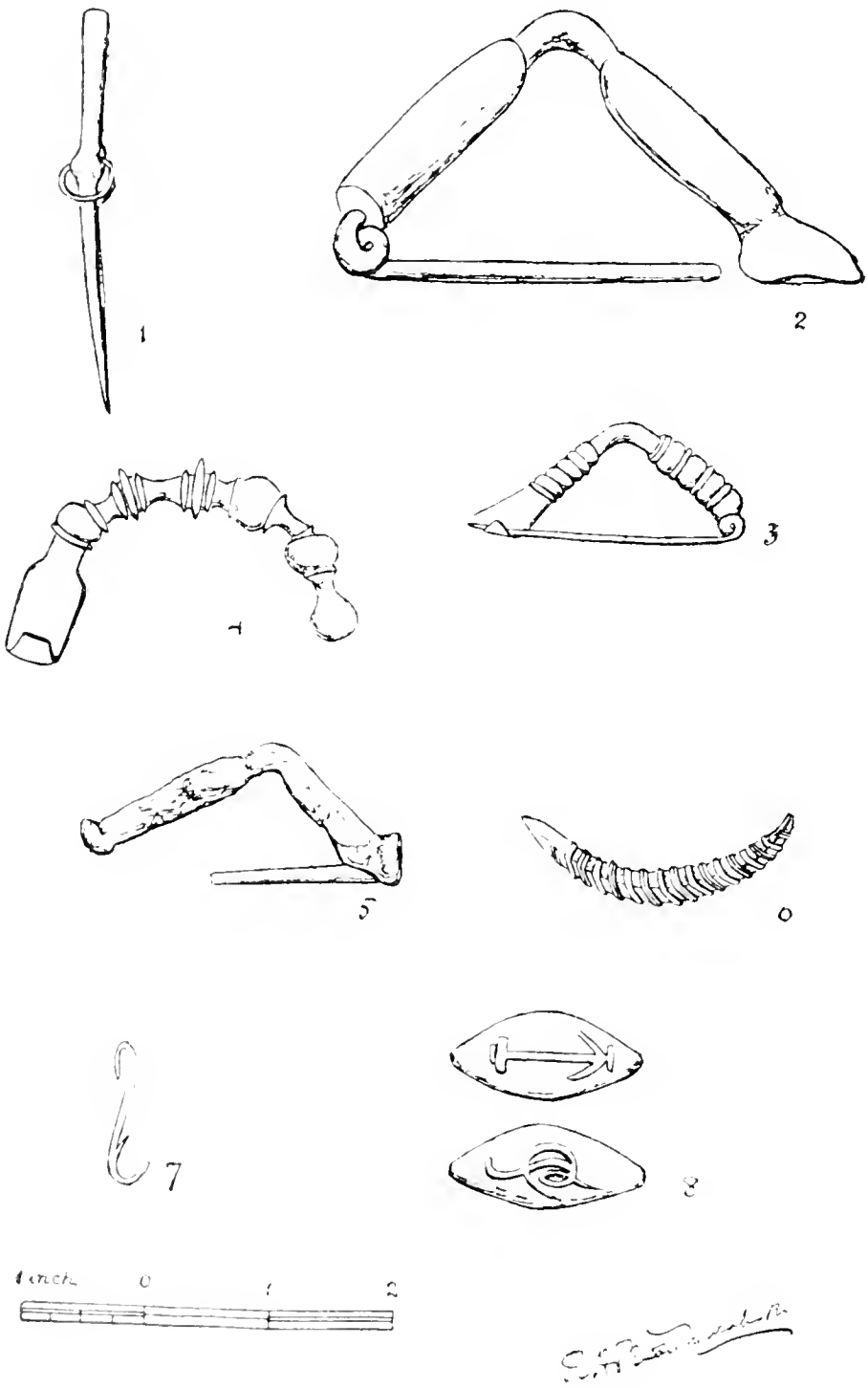
## § XI.—Metal Objects.

Some of the most interesting metal objects are gathered together on Plate V. In addition to these I may mention that a fine collection of tools in iron has been brought together from the upper strata, and will be treated of on a later occasion.

Fig. 1 represents a bronze pin (fourth stratum) of a type very common here and at Lachish, though unknown in the Shephelah *tells*—a cylindrical tapering pin, with the taper of the shaft interrupted at from quarter to half-way down from the head by an eyelet hole. This kind of pin has already been illustrated

# EXCAVATION OF CEZER

## METAL OBJECTS



in the present series of reports (*see Quarterly Statement*, October, 1902, p. 328). The example now figured is curious for having a small gold ring running through the eye—possibly the first link of a chain by which the pin was attached to the person and preserved from loss.

Figs. 2–5 are fibulæ of the common safety-pin type, Fig. 2 (uppermost stratum) being illustrated on account of its unusual size, Fig. 3 (found on the rock) because of its perfect state of preservation—a very rare circumstance— Fig. 4 (uppermost stratum) on account of its bold and handsome moulding, which is also unusual, and Fig. 5 because it is a singularly interesting example of the overlap of bronze and iron. The back of the fibula in the latest example is iron; instead of the usual spring at the base of the pin there is a socket, into which a bronze pin is slipped. The bronze was no doubt found more flexible. I have never in Palestine or elsewhere seen a similar object.

Equally interesting from the same point of view is the fragment of bracelet from the sixth stratum shown in Fig. 6. This had a double bronze wire wrapped round it. The marks of iron corrosion, when carefully studied, show that an iron wire was wrapped round likewise, alternating with the bronze. This also is unique in my experience.

Fig. 7, from near the rock on the Western Hill, is apparently a bronze fish-hook; I do not remember any precedent for the peculiar position of the barb.

Fig. 8 represents a small pellet of lead found in tracing the south side of the outer wall. It has an anchor stamped on one side and a snake on the other. Similar pellets, though without the stamps, were found at Tell Sandaḥannah.[1]

A collection of bronze and iron arrowheads together with a number of stone balista balls and iron nails were found in a heap just outside the south gate. The series is interesting, as it shows

[1] The labourer who turned this object out of the ground said to me, "We have found a bit of lead with a *ḍôghbis* upon it." Enquiry elicited that by *ḍôghbis* he meant a tadpole. The word seems worth recording, as I have found it unnoticed in both Lane and De Sacy, and (what is more to the point) unknown to my Lebanon foreman and to several of the best scholars of colloquial Arabic whom I have consulted, some of whom have spent all their lives in the country. The man from whose lips I heard the word is from El-Kubâb, but the Zakarîya people tell me that they know and use the word likewise.

the variety of types used in the country at one time.[1] No doubt we have here the tangible remains of a skirmish, but it would be an anachronism to yield to the temptation of connecting the skirmish with an endeavour to force the southern gate. The use of iron, and of barbed bronze arrowheads, proves that the skirmish must have taken place in the Maccabean period, a thousand years after the southern gate had been covered up and forgotten. It is possible —indeed probable—that these arrowheads are relics of one of the combats in which Gezer was involved during the Judæo-Syrian wars; possibly that in which Simon Maccabæus captured the city (1 Macc. xiii, 43 *sqq.*).

## § XII.—Egyptian Objects.

As in previous reports, the scarabs (collected together on Plate VI)[2] can most conveniently be described in tabular form :—

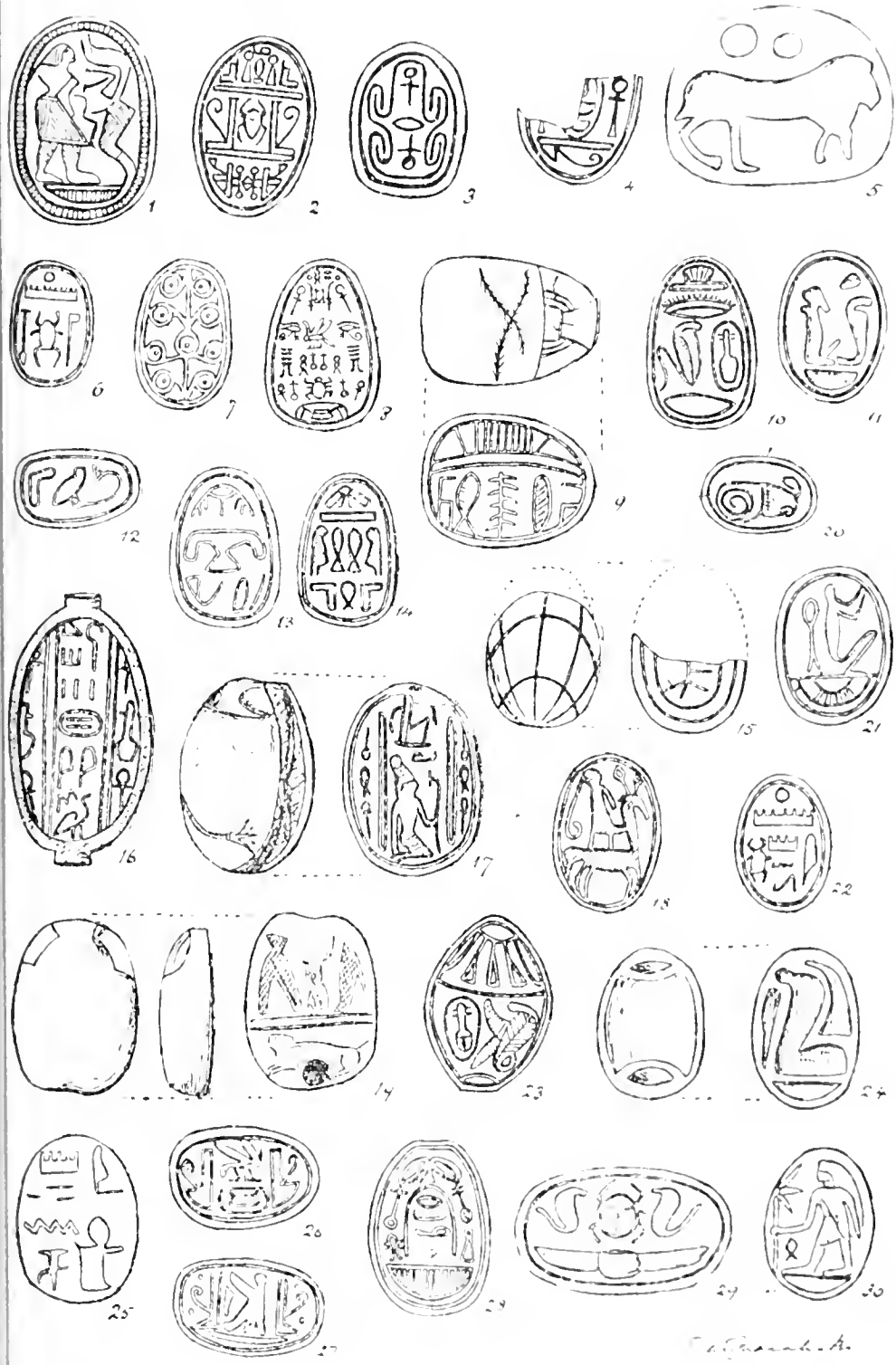
| No. | Fig. on Pl. VI. | Stratum. | Material. | Device. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | 1 | Under III | Steatite .. | Figure. |
| 2 | — | ,, | Amethyst .. | No device. |
| 3 | — | ,, | Crystal.. .. | No device. |
| 4 | 2 | ,, | Steatite .. | Symmetrical pattern (the middle lost, the scarab being broken into three pieces). |
| 5 | 3 | ,, | ,, .. | Symmetrical pattern (upper *'nḫ* broken away). |
| 6 | 4 | ,, | ,, .. | Ring (nearly all broken) flanked by *'nḫs*. |
| 7 | 5 | III | Limestone .. | Lion. |
| 8 | 6 | III | Steatite .. | Mn-ḫpr-R' nfr ntr (Thothmes III). |
| 9 | — | III | Amethyst .. | No device. |
| 10 | 7 | III | Steatite, blue enamel. | Symmetrical pattern. |
| 11 | 8 | IV | Steatite .. | Symmetrical arrangement of a large number of symbolical characters. |
| 12 | 9 | IV | Steatite, yellow enamel. | Symmetrical pattern. Two palm branches on the back of the scarab. |
| 13 | 10 | IV | Steatite .. | Uræus, *nfr*, &c. |
| 14 | 11 | IV | ,, .. | Seated figure, uræus, &c. |

[1] [This plate has been held over until the concluding Memoir.]

[2] [In the Plate all are reduced to about half-size, except 19, which is only quarter-size.—Ed.]

# EXCAVATION OF CEZER

## SCARABS



| No. | Fig. on Pl. VI. | Stratum. | Material. | Device. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 15 | 12 | IV | Steatite, green enamel. | Bird on lotus branch (?). |
| 16 | 13 | IV | Paste, blue enamel. | *Nb* and other devices. |
| 17 | — | IV | Diorite .. | No device. |
| 18 | — | IV | Basalt .. | No device. |
| 19 | 14 | IV | Steatite, yellow enamel. | Symmetrical pattern. |
| 20 | 15 | IV | Clunch .. | Rude scaraboid: animal figure. |
| 21 | 16 | V | Greyish limestone in gold setting. | *Hq-smt-w Ḫ-i-'n* [Khyan]. In margin symmetrical arrangement of *'nḫ* and *nfr*. |
| 22 | [*See* below] | V | Paste, green enamel. | Rings of Thii and Amenhotep III. |
| 23 | ,, | V | Paste, blue enamel. | Kneeling figure. |
| 24 | ,, | V | Paste, green enamel. | Device obscure. |
| 25 | — | VI | Diorite .. | No device. |
| 26 | 17 | VI | Steatite, green enamel. | Two figures, one wearing the crown of Upper Egypt. In margin, symmetrical arrangement of *'nḫ* and *šn* (?). On back of scarab, branch of a lotus. |
| 27 | [*See* above, Fig. 11A] | VI | Basalt .. | Wolf attacking ibex. |
| 28 | 18 | VII | Steatite .. | Figure on back of a camel (or giraffe ?). |
| 29 | 19 | VII | Grey steatite .. | Rudely-scratched representation of two birds (?), and a sphinx. |
| 30 | — | Picked up on surface. | Paste, green enamelled. | Fragment, apparently inscribed *Imn* (Amen). |
| 31 | — | ,, | Paste, green enamelled. | Fragment, nothing of device left but ⊙. |
| 32 | — | ,, | Amethyst .. | No device. |
| 33 | 20 | ,, | Diorite .. | Spiral pattern. |
| 34 | 21 | ,, | Paste, green enamelled. | Seated figure, &c. |
| 35 | 22 | ,, | Steatite .. | *Mn hpr R' Imn* [compare No. 8]. |
| 36 | 23 | ,, | ,, .. | Lotus flower and *nfr* in a ring. |
| 37 | 24 | ,, | Paste, green enamelled. | Conventionalised figure. |
| 38 | 25 | ,, | Steatite .. | *Imn* . . . . (?). |
| 39 | 26 | ,, | ,, .. | A bee, *nb*, and symmetrical ornament. |
| 40 | 27 | ,, | Diorite .. | Winged figure with symmetrical ornament, similar to the last. |

Considerably over a hundred scarabs have now been found at Gezer, as against less than 50 from the *tells* in the Shephelah.

This is an interesting testimony to the intensity of the Egyptian domination over the city now undergoing exploration.

Of the scarabs catalogued above the most interesting is No. 21, bearing the name of Khyan—one of whose scarabs has also been found at Knossos in Crete—and No. 22, the great scarab of Amenhotep III and Thii. This is shown separately in Fig. 9. It is $2\frac{3}{8}$ inches long, and bears the rings and royal titles of the King and Queen. Two smaller scarabs, shown in the same figure, as well as a few spherical beads and a draughtsman, all of the

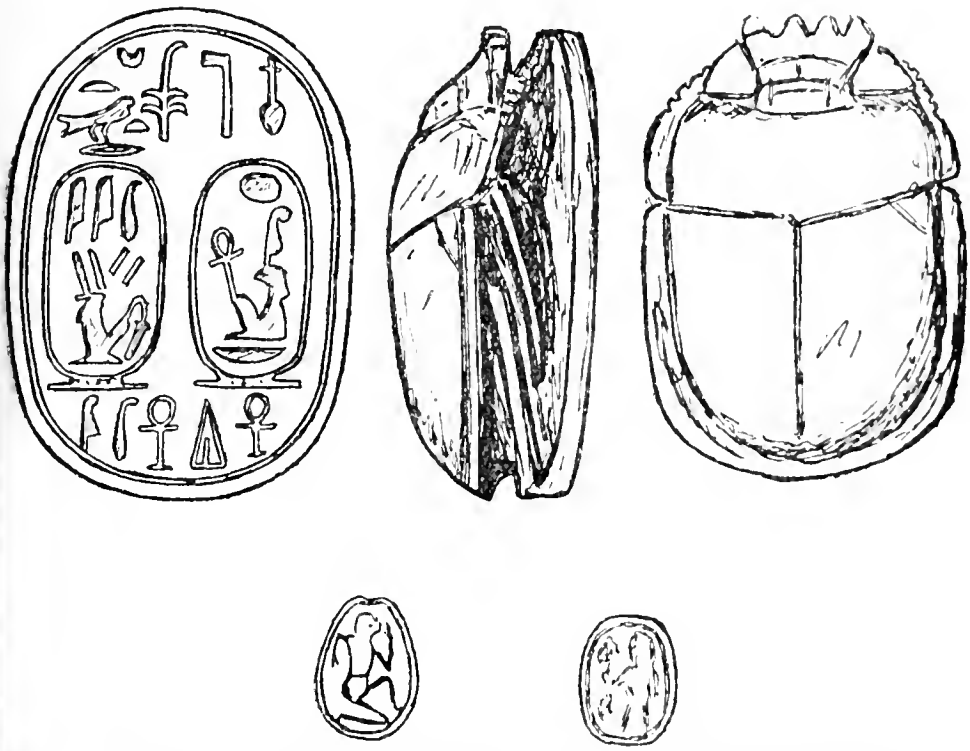


Fig. 9.—Scarab of Amenhotep III and Thii, and two other Scarabs found with it.

characteristic Egyptian green enamelled paste, were found together with the large scarab. Of the smaller scarabs, one in blue enamelled paste, represents a kneeling figure; the other, in paste green enamelled, is much disintegrated, and I can say only that it seems to represent two standing figures.

In Plate VI, Figs. 28–30, are represented the only jar-handle scarab stamps that need detain us. Figs. 28 and 29 were from the third, Fig. 30 from the fourth, stratum.

The only other Egyptian objects found during the quarter that deserves mention is a little block of carnelian on which a sphinx is delicately carved. It was found in the fourth stratum. Another minute sphinx in blue enamelled paste was found in the rubbish outside the southern city gate.

The remaining Egyptian antiquities do not call for detailed notice. Several of the common small enamelled amulets in the shape of god-figures have been discovered at different levels. It is evident that at all times the most popular Egyptian divinity in Gezer was the god of dancing and other pleasurable excitement, Bes. At least two—I ought, perhaps, to say three or four—of his figures are found to one symbolising any other deity.[1]

## § XIII.—Conclusion.

With this report the second year's digging comes to an end. As the preceding report consisted almost entirely of a recapitulation of the work done from the beginning, I need not here give a retrospect of the year's results as I did at the end of the first 12 months. The mound has throughout shown a curious tendency to unexpectedness in the harvest it has yielded: on some subjects on which we had been hoping that it would offer testimony it has as yet remained silent, while in others it has given a fulness of information beyond what we would have dreamed. It has now been proved that cuneiform tablets are to be found within it, though where they are it is, of course, impossible to say till they actually come to light. Surely it is not too much to ask that subscribers and others will make a special effort to aid the Fund during the one more year that the work can be prosecuted, to examine as much as possible of the five-sixths of the débris of whose contents, precious though they unquestionably are, we are as yet perfectly ignorant.

[1] [*See* further below, Professor Petrie's notes on "Egyptian Objects."]

# THE FRAGMENT OF AN ASSYRIAN TABLET FOUND AT GEZER.

By Theophilus G. Pinches, Esq., LL.D.

This is shown by the cast to be the upper part[1] of a contract tablet, similar to numerous others, preserved in the British Museum, which were found by Layard, Rassam, and the explorers who have succeeded them. It is especially the left-hand portion of the fragment which is preserved, so that the ends of the lines are in most cases wanting. At the beginning are four lines of writing, giving the names of the sellers, and the nature of the property sold, and after this, between two ruled lines, is a blank space in which the seals of the sellers are impressed. Each seal is given twice, the first, which is small, showing a roughly engraved tree, whilst the other has two men, face to face, with the hands extended above what is evidently the Egyptian emblem for "life," *ankh*. Over their heads is an eight-rayed star with wings extending right and left—a variant of the winged disc. This design is probably due to Egyptian influence.[2]

Beneath the seals is one complete line of wedge-writing, followed by the remains of four others, the ends only, on the side of the fragment, being preserved in two cases. After this comes the broken edge of the tablet, interrupting the text, of which no traces appear until about the middle of the reverse, where we have 14 lines of writing, of which the fourth, fifth, and sixth only are complete, the remainder containing traces only, as in the case of the first two, or fairly perfect, but broken away at the ends, as in the case of lines 3 and 7–13. A straight line is ruled after line 6 to divide the text from the list of witnesses, which begins with line 7.

[1] It is the upper part of the obverse and the lower part of the reverse. For the dimensions, *see* Mr. Macalister's report, p. 207.

[2] Compare Mr. Macalister's report, *ibid.* In making the middle impression the seal slid along the surface of the clay, rendering the design less distinct and elongating the oval.

## Tablet Found at Gezer.

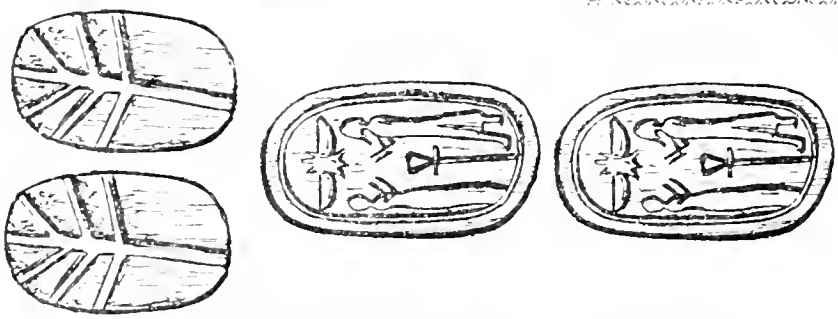
*Obverse.*

1. 

2. 

3. 

4. 



5. 

6. 

7. 

8. 

9. 

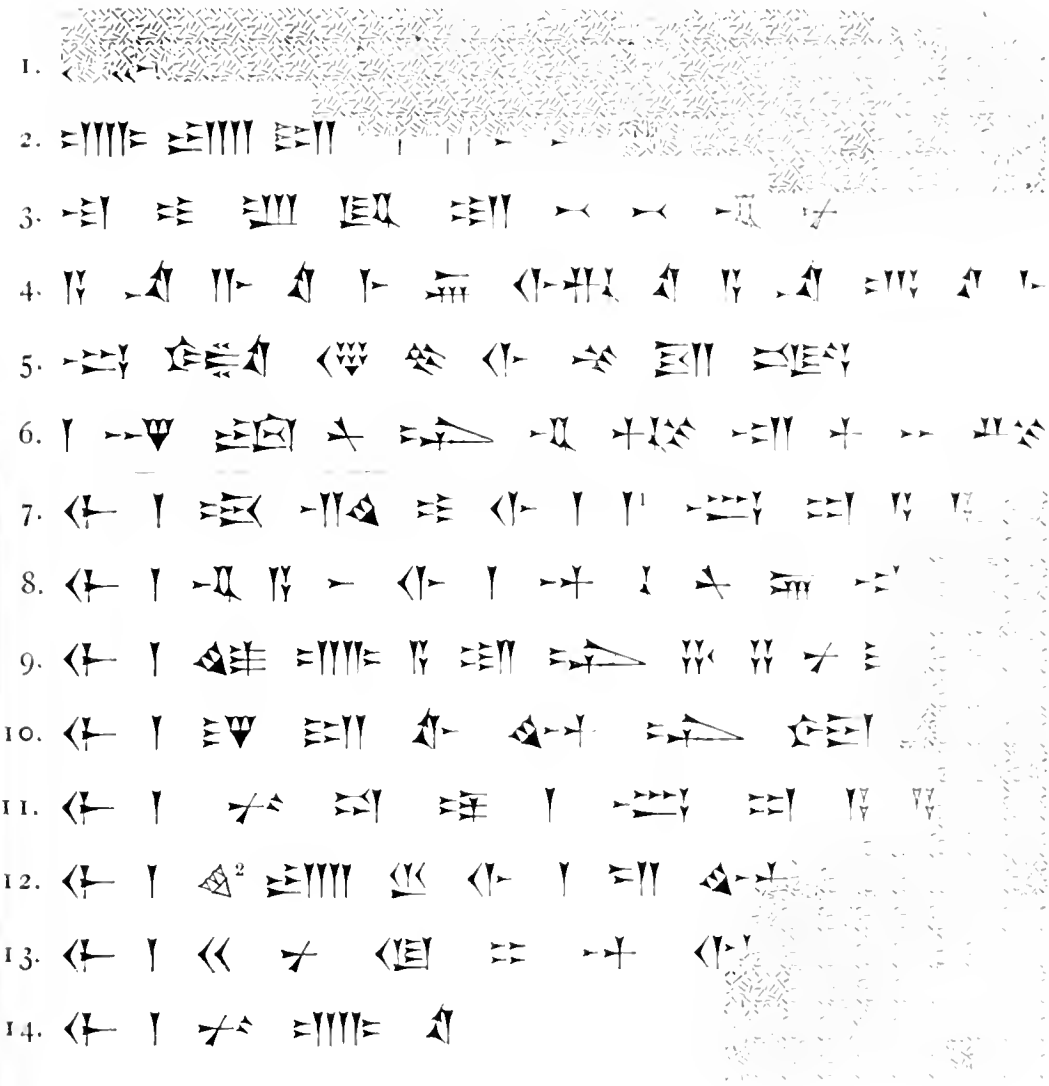
FIG. 1.—Assyrian Tablet found at Gezer.

To face p. 231

FIG. 2.—Assyrian Tablet found at Gezer.

## Tablet Found at Gezer.

*Reverse.*



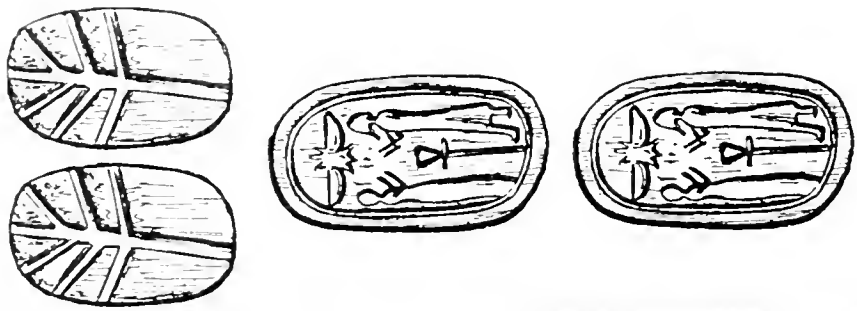
[1] This wedge is apparently redundant.

[2] Or ⟨ (*see* the Rev. C. H. W. Johns's remarks upon this name on p. 240).

## Transcription.

*Obverse.*

1. Kunuk D.PI. Marduk-êriba apil . . . . . .
2. Kunuk D.P. Abi-êriba apil . . . . . .
3. gamru šina awēlute bêlê bitê êḳli . . . . . .
4. bit D.P. Lu-âḫê a-di gi- . . . . . .



5. D.P. nîšê D.P. Ṭu-ri-D.P. A-a šina sinnišāti-šu, mâri-šu
6. šalšet D.P. . . . . (pl.)
7. šina . . . . . -ga
8. . . . . -a-a
9. . . . . ia-ḳar.

[Here the text breaks off.]

*Reverse.*

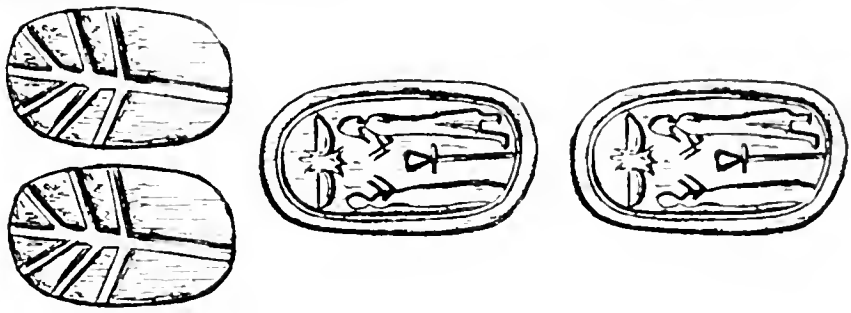
1. . . . . .
2. u-ta-ra (?) . . . . . .
3. la i-lak-ki ṣi-bit be-e[n-u]u
4. a-na išten meat û-me sa-ar-tu a-na kal û-me
5. Araḫ Siwanni, ûmu sibâšêru, lim-mu ša arki
6. D.P. Aššur-dûra-uṣur D.P. bêl piḫati âl Maš-ḫal-zi[1]
7. Pân D.P. Zag-gi-i : pân D.PP. Ṭebet-a-[a] ;
8. pân Bêl-âpla-iddina ; pân D.PP. Marduk-naṣir . . . . ;
9. pân D.P. Ḫur-u-a-ṣi D.P. ḫa-za-mu . . . . ;
10. pân D.P. Bur-ra-pi-i D.P. dam-[2] . . . . ;
11. pân D.P. Zēr-ukîn âpil D.PP. Ṭebet-[a-a] :
12. pân D.P. Ḫi(?)-ta-din ;[3] pân D.P. Si-[2]- . . . . ;
13. pân Man-nu-ki-Arba-îlu ; pân D.P. . . . . ;
14. pân D.P. Zēr-û-tu.

[1] Or Bar-ḫal-zi.
[2] Probable completion : *dam-kar*.
[3] Or Addu-tadin, Adadi-tadin (*see* p. 240).

## Translation.

*Obverse.*

1. Seal of Marûduk-êriba, son of . . . . . .
2. seal of Âbi-êriba, son of . . . . . .
3. total, 2 men, owners of the houses, field (?) [&c., sold] . . .
4. the house of Lu-âḫê, to . . . . . .



5. The people[1] Ṭuri-Aa, his two wives, his son
6. 3 men . . . . . s
7. 2 . . . . . ga
8. . . . . aa
9. . . . . -iaḳar.

[A considerable number of lines are lost here, giving further details and the beginning of the conditions of the contract. In all, more than half the obverse and probably a corresponding amount of the reverse, are wanting.]

*Reverse.*

1. . . . . .
2. he shall return . . . . . .
3. he shall not receive. Guarantee (?) (against) sickness (?)
4. for a hundred days, physical defect (?) for all time.
5. Month Sivan, day 17th, eponymy which is after
6. Aššur-dûra-uṣur, prefect of Maṣḫalzu.[2]

7. Before Zaggî; before Ṭebetâ[a];
8. before Bêl-âpla-iddina; before Marûduk-nasir . . . ;
9. before Ḫurnaṣi, the governor . . . ;
10. before Burrapi'u, the commis[sion-agent];
11. before Zêra-ukin, son of Ṭebet[âa];
12. before Ḫitadin (?);[3] before Si' . . . . ;
13. before Mannu-ki-Arba-ilu; before . . . . ;
14. before Zêrûtu.

[1] Probably = slaves. [2] Or Barḫalzu.
[3] Addu (Adadi)-tadin (*see* Mr. Johns's remarks on p. 240)

Though the casts and photographs are fairly clear, certain characters are somewhat defective; nevertheless, the text is fairly well preserved on the whole. The arrival of the photographs (which took place after these notes had gone to press) confirmed and justified several readings regarded as uncertain, and set aside all doubt that the document referred to the sale of an estate with houses and the slaves by whose aid the work necessarily connected therewith was carried on. That it was a large establishment is implied by the remains of words in lines 6 to 9 of the obverse, the three men mentioned in line 6 being almost certainly servants holding offices in the management, and to this it may be added that the traces of characters imply that (? three) servants of another class were probably mentioned in the middle of the line.[1] Whether the character for "two" at the beginning of line 7 refer to persons or to things is uncertain, but the latter would seem to be more probable.[2] The syllable *ga* at the end of this line is possibly the last character of a name or of an ideograph expressing an ordinary noun, *aa* at the end of line 8 is probably the end of some such name as Ṭebetâa (*see* lines 7 and 11 of the reverse), and *yaḳar* at the end of line 9 is possibly part of a name like Aḫi-yaḳar, quoted by the Rev. C. H. W. Johns in *Assyrian Deeds and Documents*, vol. iii, p. 114.

The missing portion in all probability went on to describe the remainder of the property: the price, conditions of sale, the usual prohibition against withdrawing from the bargain and making a law-suit to have it declared null and void, and the penalty should the principal sellers, or their descendants or heirs, seek to have it set aside. The line on the break of the reverse, with the two following (lines 1–3), are probably to be completed as follows:—

*Kaspu ana ešrate ana bêlê-šunu*
*utara, ina dini-šunu idabbubu-ma*
*la ilaḳḳi*, &c.

"The money sevenfold to their owners
they shall return, in their law-suit they shall plead and
shall not receive," &c.

[1] The plural sign at the end may apply to these, or to yet another section of the household staff.

[2] The character after the numeral "2" may be either ≥𒌋, the determinative prefix for wooden objects, or part of ≥𒌋𒌋𒌋𒌋, in which case we have to read 𒌋𒌋 ≥𒌋𒌋𒌋𒌋 𒌋𒌋𒌋, *šina bêtê*, "2 houses."

Concerning the words which follow, *ṣibit benna ana iṣṣu meat ûme, sartu ana kal ûme*, there is much uncertainty, and Mr. Johns, whose excellent book upon these documents has been quoted above, will probably have something to say upon this point. The translation which I have suggested above must be considered merely provisional, and I should be glad to see a better one substituted.

The principal point in this document is naturally the date. Concerning this there is one important fact to be noted, namely, that it is not the eponym for the actual date who is mentioned, but the one of the preceding year, Aššur-dûra-uṣur, whose date is estimated as being 650 B.C., so that the present text was inscribed in 649 B.C., the year the Assyrian king Aššur-bani-apli, or Assurbanipal, was directing his campaign in Babylonia against his brother Saosduchinos. How it is that Sagabbu, the eponym for the actual year, is not mentioned is not clear, unless it be that his election had taken place late and the news had not had time to reach Gezer, where the tablet was found. There is an important thing which may be argued from this, however, and that is, that the ignorance of the scribe as to who had been elected eponym for the year tells against any theory that the tablet had been written elsewhere and carried, either in ancient or in modern times, to the spot where it was found. It seems to show that it could not have been written at Nineveh, or anywhere in Assyria, for in that case the name of the eponym would almost certainly have been known to the scribe, or easily ascertainable should he have been unaware of it.

The list of the names of contracting parties and witnesses resembles closely those which we meet with in the numerous tablets of the same kind found at Nineveh. These names are divided into two classes, namely, Assyrian and west Asiatic. Among Assyrian names are the following: Ṭebetâa, Bêl-âpla iddina, Marduk-naṣir, Zêr-ukîn, Mannu-kî-Arba-ilu, and Zêrûtu. The others are mostly, if not wholly, west Asian. Of more than ordinary interest is that of the fifth witness, which I have transcribed Ḫuruaṣi.[1] This word, which is spelled with the vocalic *u* (𒄭 𒁹𒄿 𒁺𒀀𒀀𒁺 𒄭 𒄿𒀀𒀀), is apparently the same as that occurring twice in the tablet published by Mr. Johns in his *Assyrian Deeds and Documents*, vol. i, No. 324 (K. 294), where, however, it is given

[1] In accordance with Prof. Petrie's suggestion (p. 243).

with the consonantal *w* (𒄩 𒀀𒌋 𒋗𒄭 𒄩𒄩, *Ḫur-wa-ṣu*), the first personage bearing it being called 𒋗𒄭 𒁹𒁹 𒁺, *awēlu šalšu*, and the second the *madudu*, or "sailor." *Ḫurwaṣi*, however, was a much higher-placed official, namely, a *ḫazānu*, or "governor," and therefore quite distinct from either of these, who, moreover, were not his contemporaries. The vocalic change at the end is probably due to the scribe who wrote *Ḫurwaṣa* regarding it as an indeclinable noun, whilst he of the Gezer tablet gives it as in the genitive after *pân*, "before." The tablet K. 294 (Mr. Johns's No. 324) refers to house property within Nineveh, so that the presence of western names would seem to be of no value for fixing the locality of the Palestine Exploration Fund's new find—which, however, is sufficiently attested by Mr. Macalister, the discoverer, and the indication of the date.

In compliance with the request made to me, I have written such a description of the tablet found by Mr. Macalister at Gezer as is possible in the short time (filled, as it has been, with many occupations) at my disposal. Others, however, have been invited to write upon it, and there is no doubt that much more of importance will come to light in consequence of their studies. Professor Sayce, the head of Assyriology in England, always has excellent and suggestive things to say, and all will look eagerly for his remarks. As for the Rev. C. H. W. Johns, the author of *Assyrian Deeds and Documents*—a most important work, dealing exclusively with inscriptions of this class, of which he has made a special study—he will be able to correct (as I hope) my rendering, and also add much useful information to my notes thereon.

It remains only to be said that Mr. Macalister is worthy of our warmest thanks for the extremely interesting document which he has discovered, and it is to be hoped that this forecast of good things to come will be fulfilled to the uttermost.

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## NOTE ON THE ASSYRIAN TABLET.

By the Rev. A. H. Sayce, LL.D., *Professor of Assyriology, Oxford.*

My copy of the cast, which is not very clear in places, agrees with that of Dr. Pinches, except at the beginning of line 9 of the Reverse, where I have read *ṣu* instead of *mur*. Dr. Pinches' skill and experience, however, have given him an authority in questions

of textual reading far beyond that of any other living Assyriologist, and I therefore have no doubt that his reading is to be preferred. In Obverse, line 4, the cast certainly has *bit*.

The Assyrian phrase in Reverse, lines 3, 4, I should translate: "Seizure for the corvée for 100 days (during the year) is a perpetual obligation."

I confess to feeling some difficulty about accepting the statement of the workmen that the tablet was actually found at Gezer, since the seals are typically North Syrian, and the names of the witnesses which are not Assyrian are also Syrian and not Canaanite. The element 'Sih is found in the names from Harran published by Mr. Johns. Dr. Pinches has already drawn attention to the Aramaic character of Ḫurnaṣi, and Bur-rapih would correspond with an Aramaic Bar-Raphia, in which the second element has the same origin as the Hebrew Rapha and Raphayyah (Raphia). It would not be very difficult for an Arab workman to obtain a broken Assyrian tablet at Jerusalem, and "salting the ground" is not unknown even in the East.

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## NOTE ON THE GEZER CONTRACT TABLET.

By the Rev. C. H. W. Johns, M.A., *Lecturer in Assyriology, Queens' College, Cambridge, and King's College, London.*

Having been favoured with a view of the cast and photographs of this tablet, and also most courteously allowed to see Dr. Pinches' report upon it, I gladly avail myself of permission to add a few remarks as to my own impressions.

The most remarkable thing about the tablet is its *provenance*. There is not a word now preserved upon it which directly connects it with Gezer. The script and language and many of the proper names are pure Assyrian. Certainly several proper names are of a type which can be paralleled from Phoenicia, Palmyra, Syria, or Palestine, and are called West Semitic by some. Such names occur very frequently in documents found at Nineveh. Hence did we not know where it was discovered we might suspect that it was part of a tablet found in the ruins of Nineveh, or elsewhere in Assyria.

The document recorded the sale by two men, Marduk-erba and Abi-erba (if that is the way in which the signs *AD-SU* should be read) of certain estate, including houses, fields, and slaves, all described shortly as "the household," *bîtu*, "of Mušêtiḳ-aḫê" (if that is the correct reading of *LU-PAP-MEŠ*). This estate was sold without reserve, literally "to its entirety." In line 4, after *gi*, the traces of *mir* are certain, and the usual phrase in such a place is *adi gimirtiśu*. The two sellers were each described as "son of" some one whose name has now disappeared. They bear Assyrian names; but, if they were inhabitants of Gezer, their fathers may have borne Palestinian names. If this had been the case, we should have had an interesting example, such as often occurred in Assyria itself, of the children bearing Assyrian names, while their fathers were of different nationality. The sellers are then called *śina amêlê*, "two persons." *bêl*, literally "lord" of the sold estate. This marked them as legitimate owners with full right to sell, as contrasted with agents or leaseholders. How they were in a position to sell the estate of Mušêtiḳ-aḫê does not now appear. He may have forfeited his property. The only person of that name known to me was sold as a slave a few years later in Nineveh, *see A.D.D.*, No. 178 (*i.e.*, *Assyrian Deeds and Documents*, vol. iii, p. 406). The names of the sellers are too common to give the least clue to their history. Thus the name Marduk-erba occurs at this period as borne by a commander of 1,300 men (*A.D.D.*, No. 855), or as a "governor," *bêl paḫati* of Purammu (*A.D.D.*, No. 853). He may have been the Assyrian commander of a garrison at Gezer.

After the seals it is the rule for the scribe to set out a schedule of the property sold. Here he begins with a list of the slaves, as being persons, before he sets out the real estate. Unfortunately we have little preserved in this part of the tablet. The first slave named, with his wives, his son, and his own slaves, is Ṭûri-Aa. The name is not Assyrian, but we may compare the Palmyrene טוּרָא and such names as Ṭûrî, Ṭûri-baltu, Aa-ṭûri, Adûni-ṭûri, Si'ṭûri.[1]

[1] טוּר is, indeed, the Aramaic equivalent of the Hebrew צוּר "rock," and that the form was widely known seems to follow from the fact that even the Greeks knew of the Phœnician city Ṣôr as *τύρος*. If the equation be correct, Turi-aa, &c., would answer to the familiar Hebrew names compounded with Zur(i) (צוּרִי), viz., Zuri-shaddai, Eli-zur, and especially Zuri-el. *Apropos* of Ṭuri-baltu (above), reference may be made to Jastrow's theory that Bosheth in Ishbosheth, &c., is a distortion of the divine name Baštu, and that it may have been a designation of the consort of Baal (*Encyc. Biblica*, vol. ii, col. 2209). Ed.]

The names of the gods Adûni, Si', are West Semitic. There is still considerable difference of opinion as to the reading of the divine name written here *AN-A-A*. It used to be read, on very slight grounds, Malik or Malkatu. Now it is often read Aa or Aya. But the scribe may have used his Assyrian ideogram to denote some Palestinian god, or goddess. Perhaps the name Ṭûri-baltu may give the clue. Baltu may be for Bastu, or disguise a Western female Baal. We get another piece of a name on the edge of line 9, which ended in *iakar*, a very characteristic form. The corresponding Assyrian would be *iḳar*. Dr. Pinches has already pointed it out. So far as these slight indications go, the slaves sold may have been natives of Gezer.

It is vexatious that the tablet is defective just where the scribe undoubtedly gave the situations of the houses and fields which were sold. According to all analogy he not only stated where they were, but gave the names of the owners of the surrounding property. This might have fixed the situation as being in Gezer. If the rest of the tablet is ever found, or even the flakes that have broken off here, we may learn more.

When we pass to the list of witnesses we find ourselves in an equally unfortunate position. We expect the most important witnesses to be named first. Now, the fifth witness is said to be a *ḫazânu*, or "mayor." Undoubtedly the scribe said of what town he was "mayor." If this transaction took place at Gezer there can be little doubt that he was "mayor" of Gezer. Just here, then, we have lost a most important piece of information. His name, commented upon by Dr. Pinches, is not Assyrian. It could be read Ḫurwaṣi. There are a few other names which seem to be compounded with a divine name Ḫur, or Ḫûru. Ḫurtibû seems to be the same as חרתבא, on an ostrakon from Elephantina, which De Vogüé thought was neither Aramaic nor Egyptian (*C.I.S.*, p. 140, B, l. 3). Assurbanipal's scribes write Ḫursiaêsu as the name of the king of Sabnûti in Egypt. This name is identified by Steindorff ("*Beitr. z. Assyriol.*," I., p. 350) with Egyptian Ḥr-si'-'is(t), the Greek Ἁρσάϊσις, "Horus, son of Isis," a common name in Saïtic times. With this name we may compare Ḫursiou (*A.D.D.*, No. 590). We also have a name Pûdi-Ḫûru in a list of captive slaves (*A.D.D.*, No. 763). Further Pisan-Ḫûru was the name of a king of Nathu in Egypt (*see* Steindorff, *B.A.S.*, I., p. 347). So we may have in Ḫur-waṣi a compound of Horus, or of

a Semitic god called Ḫur. Whether the second element *waṣi* can represent any Egyptian word I cannot decide. But it is very likely that Ḫurwaṣi was a native of Gezer, if it is true that the tablet was drawn up there. Most probably he was the *ḫazânu* of Gezer. It is very unfortunate, therefore, that we cannot settle this definitely.

Now if such was the real state of the case we may ask, why was Ḫurwasi not placed at the head of the list? Clearly because the first four were more important persons. The first name Zaggî is not known to me as occurring elsewhere, but Ṭebetai ("one born in the month Ṭebet," like Simanai, "one born in Sivan," &c., *cf.*, Shabbethai, Haggai), Bêl-apli-iddin, Marduk-nâṣir, are pure Assyrian names. It is obvious to suppose them to be prominent officials.

The next witness was the *tamkâru*, or "merchant," the intermediary in the bargain, who doubtless had found the purchaser for the property, whose name must have occurred on the lost part of the tablet. The name of this merchant is not Assyrian. I think we should read it Bur-rapi', and compare names like Bûr-Anati, Bûr-Ramanu. It is a question whether we may not compare also Bir-Atar, Bir-Dadda, Bir-Iâwa, Bir-Šamaš, and read here Bir-rapi'. But Bûr or Bir may be a Divine name. For the second element we may compare Rapi', the name of a *nasikku* of Ḫindana, and such names as Rapâ, Rapai, Rapaia, and the Palmyrene רפא, רפי. The very singular ברפא[1] may be our name here. For further references *see A.D.D.* Index of Proper Names and Lidzbarski *Nordsemitische Epigraphik.*

The next name is pure Assyrian, Zêr-ukîn, clearly the son of the second witness. The first sign of the name in line 12 may be *u*, the ideogram of Adadi. The name would then read Adadi-tadin, another West Semitic name. Names with Si' are common. Si' was the Ḫarran form for Sin (*A.D.D.*, p. 43). Zêrûtu is a common Assyrian name.

On a review of the whole evidence we may conclude that it is quite consonant with the theory that at this time Gezer was held by an Assyrian garrison, or a colony of Assyrians who were the dominant class. At each point where the tablet, if complete, would naturally have given definite information, we are left in

[1] ברפא, also בורפא, has hitherto been taken to stand for בול רפא, "B. heals"; the new suggestion seems preferable.—Ed.]

ignorance. On the other hand, nothing inconsistent with the theory is preserved. It is very difficult to see what could have brought a contract drawn up at Nineveh to Gezer. Nothing on the tablet, however, is inconsistent with its having been drawn up in Nineveh

The phrase *ṣibit benni ana mûti ûmi, sartu ana kal ûmi* is usual in sales of slaves (whether accompanied by real estate or not). It is discussed in *A.D.D.* (*Assyrian Deeds and Documents*), vol. iii, p. 391, *sqq.* The probability seems to be that *ṣibtu* and *benni* are two dreaded diseases. That *ṣibtu* specially means some sort of "seizure" is most probable from the phrase *ṣibit pi*, for "dumbness," used in *Mémoires de la Délégation en Perse*, vol. i, p. 110, l. 38. The *benni* is often referred to in contracts of the First Dynasty of Babylon, as also in the Code of Ḫammurabi, § 278. In the latter case if a man sell a slave, and before the month is out the *benni* fall upon him the seller has to take back the slave and return his purchase money. The time allowed to elapse, within which a purchaser might repudiate his purchase for this cause, was a month, as usually in contracts of the period of the First Dynasty. In Assyrian times a hundred days was always allowed. The question whether *ṣibtu* really differs from *benni*, for which it is given as a synonym, II, R. 35, *cf.* 41, is hard to decide. This passage looks as if we ought to read *ṣibit benni*, "a seizure of *benni*." We also find *ṣibti benni* in Assyrian contracts. Elsewhere we read *ṣibtu benni*, which may be rendered "a seizure, a *benni*." The *sartu* probably denotes "a wrong," perhaps also "an injury," or "a defect." That might be made a plea for repudiation at any time.

The Assyrian contracts give the time within which a plea of *sartu* could be set up, as *kâl šanâti*, "for all years"; *kâl ûmi*, "for all days," *arkât ûmi*, "for after days." These are evidently equivalents, and mean "at any time." Thus a slave owner, who knew his slave to be sickening for the *benni* and sold him, could be called upon to take him back if the buyer wished to repudiate his purchase, within a fixed time. Any undisclosed defect would invalidate the sale at any time.

A curious parallel to the singular manner of dating the tablet occurs on Sm. 701 (*A.D.D.* No. 213), which is dated in the "Eponymy after Nabû-šar-uṣur, *Šakna* of Maskasa." That we know to be the eponymy of Nabû-aḫê-ereš. This tablet is dated on the 5th of Airu, and on the 12th of the same month another

tablet is dated by the name of the proper eponym for the year. Hence is seems that in B.C. 681, doubtless while Esarhaddon was establishing his claim to the throne, it was not known at once who was to be eponym for the year. This may have been due to the unsettled state of affairs at Court. Our tablet may witness to an equally disturbed condition of affairs in B.C. 649, when, as the number of enquiries of the oracles made by Assurbanipal show, that king was in deep anxiety as to the issue of his war with his brother. On the other hand, it is tempting to suppose that the manner of dating is due to the scribe's distance from Nineveh. That the Assyrians should have had a colony, or a garrison, at Gezer, is not surprising. They had often gone down the coast to meet the forces of Egypt. Tiglath Pileser III, in B.C. 734, took Ashdod, Ekron, and Gaza. Sargon deposed Azuri of Ashdod and set Ahimiti in his place. A rebellion under Iamâni led to an Assyrian expedition, when Ashdod, Ashdudimmu, and Gath were captured, B.C. 722. Sennacherib put down a rebellion in Ekron, where the rebels had captured their king, Padi, and sent him in chains to Hezekiah. Tiglath Pileser had set up Rukipti as king in Ashkelon, but his son, Šarru-ludâri, had been expelled, and a usurper, Zidḳa, set in his place. Sennacherib stormed Ashkelon and captured Beth-Dagon, Joppa, Beni-berraḳ, Azuru, and Azekah. He met the Egyptians at Eltekeh, and drove them back, took Timnath and Ekron. Forty-six fortified cities of Judah fell into Assyrian hands and were shared between the vassal kings of Ashdod, Ekron, and Gaza. Sennacherib held Lachish, Jerusalem was threatened. It is difficult to suppose that Gezer was not captured by the Assyrians then. But Sennacherib's annals are too defective for us to be sure of its fate. Esarhaddon must have held all the strongholds along the coast to have invaded Egypt as he did. Whether he held Gezer we do not know. Assurbanipal did not succeed in holding Egypt; but he claims Manassah of Judah as his tributary, also the kings of Gaza, Ashkelon, Ekron, and Ashdod. We now have reason to think that he held Gezer as late as B.C. 649.

It is of great interest, despite the silence of Assyrian history respecting Gezer, that a town which we might expect to have been garrisoned against Egypt, now furnishes a proof that such a deduction was probably correct. We might have equally well expected that exploration would furnish relics of the Tell el-Amarna period,

as Lachish has done. For Gazri plays no unimportant part in that unique collection of dispatches. It certainly was a place worth holding then. We may learn once more that the silence of history is no argument for or against an opinion.

The seals are of interest. The rough figure of a tree branch is a design likely to occur at any time. It occurs on several tablets in the British Museum from Nineveh. The other is of more interest. The design of two persons facing each other and holding up their hands in adoration is also found. The winged disc here is very similar to the figure usually supposed to represent Asur. As a rule an altar or incense holder stands between the figures. Here the object seems to show Egyptian influence. Whose seal was it? Usually the seal impressed is expressly said to be that of the seller, as here; but when a seal was not at hand a nail-mark served the purpose. The same person does not seem to have always used the same seal. There is some evidence to show that the notary lent his seal on occasions. By his position on the tablet Zêrûtu was probably the notary. Was the seal that of the *ḫazanû*, Ḫurwaṣi? If so, the style of its design would support the view that he was an Egyptian.

Such are some of the interesting questions which this little fragment suggests. It only serves to whet our curiosity and raise our hopes that Mr. Macalister will be able to find more such traces of an Assyrian occupation. If complete, few documents would be better calculated to throw light on the nature of that occupation than contracts.

[In answer to an enquiry whether Egyptology could throw any light upon the names in the tablet, Professor Petrie courteously writes:—"The name *Ḫurwaṣi* (*Ḫur-waṣi*) seems as if it might be a very common name at that date Hor-uza 'eye of Horus' (*ḥr-wḏ3*), but exact equation of Semitic to Egyptian is not to be expected, nor should it stand in the way of reasonable possibilities. *Ṭûri-aa* might be a name found in the Abbott papyrus (p. vii, line 7), see *Records of the Past*, xii, 115. It is written  = צרי, and *aa* might be  = יא 'great.' But this *Zari* is possibly a Syrian name in Egypt. The name Bur-rapi is certainly not Egyptian; *b-r* openings are very rare and, what there are, are all Baal names. I do not see anything Egyptian in the seal. The

so-called *ca* is more like the usual altar placed between two figures on Syrian stones, and the winged disc is of the Perso-Assyrian form rather than the Egyptian."]

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# NOTES ON OBJECTS FROM GEZER.

By Professor W. M. Flinders Petrie, D.C.L., F.R.S.

## I. *Fifth Quarterly Report.*

As the Egyptian objects found at Gezer give the dating of the strata, it is most desirable to make full use of them by naming the periods whenever possible. In Mr. Macalister's paper of October, p. 301, Plate II, the Fig. 2 is the usual hinging toilet-knife of the XVIIIth dynasty: see the form in *Illahun*, Plate XIX, 33, the earlier form of the XIIth dynasty having a much smaller blade, see Plate VIII, 4, 5. The use of this tool has long been in question, but it seems likely that it was for trimming the hair (scissors being unknown): and the hinging back of it was for stretching little ringlets, wound upon it, on the same principle as a glove stretcher, so as to keep the ringlets in curl. The hinge and groove is often invisible owing to corrosion; and the knife seems then merely to have a spike on the back.

Plate II, Fig. 3, is a usual form of rasp in the XVIIIth dynasty, probably used for rasping dried bread, or possibly for carpentering.

Plate II, Fig. 5, is like a modelling tool of Roman age; but it might be a form of netting needle, the thread being wound round the middle. It is unlikely that arrow heads would be cast tang to tang, as the tang was always the filling neck of the mould.

Plate II, Fig. 10, is a well-known furniture knob of late period, for the top of the legs of stools or couches; the "solid rod of bronze," p. 302, seems as if it might be the connecting core-rod by which the rings which built up the legs were held together. Until we can have the dating of levels with these objects it will be difficult to settle their use. Such composite legs of furniture are not usual before the Greek period.

Plate II, Fig. 12, is the usual late Greek form of weight in Syria: half the Sandabannah example would be 72·5 grammes, and

quarter of this one is 65·9 grammes. This is the usual Phoenician unit, of which 14·5 grammes was the shekel (Maccabean); five shekels, or 72·2, was the unit of account, which came into use about 440 B.C., and is found stated in papyri; and 25 shekels was the mina. All weights need careful allowance for loss and gain, by wear and oxidation, before their accurate amounts can be stated.

Plate IV, Figs. 1, 4, 9, 11 (?), 12, 15, 17, 19, 20, 21, 23, 24, are all of the XIIth–XIVth dynasties. No. 1 is certainly of Usertesen I. This group belongs to Stratum III. Figs. 5, 6, 7, 13, 22 (?) are of the XVIIIth dynasty, and belong to Stratum IV. Fig. 8 is of the XIXth dynasty.

Page 315.—The holes drilled in broken pottery cannot have been for riveting—at least, in Egyptian examples as no corresponding rivets are known. It is probable that they were for lashing the pieces together with thongs of leather or cords. Every kind of fracture was dealt with in this way.

The "hole-mouths" have nothing to do with rivet holes. I defined them in *Tell el-Hesy*, p. 42, thus: "The opening is simply a hole cut in the vessel, without any lip, or turn, or decoration, beyond a slight thickening for strength in some cases." I may add that the width of the hole-mouth is usually from a quarter to a half of the whole diameter of the vessel.

It is earnestly to be hoped that the whole of the objects of one stratum will be uniformly published together in plates. It is only thus that the ages of the strata can be ascertained, and thence the dating of various Syrian objects of which we do not yet know the history.

## II. *Eighth Quarterly Report.*

The scarabs (see Plate VI) are mostly of the Hyksos period, the XIVth to XVIth dynasties; none are certainly as early as the XIIth dynasty, or before that. No. 16 is a fine one of Khyan, the great king whose remains are found from Crete to Baghdad. Nos. 6 and 22 are of Thotmes III, in the XVIII dynasty. Nos. 24 and 25 are probably after the XIXth dynasty. No. 15 is not Egyptian. The general interest is in these pointing to a main intercourse between Palestine and Egypt under the Hyksos, of whom at present scarcely anything is known.

The large separate scarab (Fig. 9) is one of a well-known class of Amenhotep III, in this case conjoined with his queen, Thyi.

## REPORTS BY R. A. STEWART MACALISTER, M.A., F.S.A.

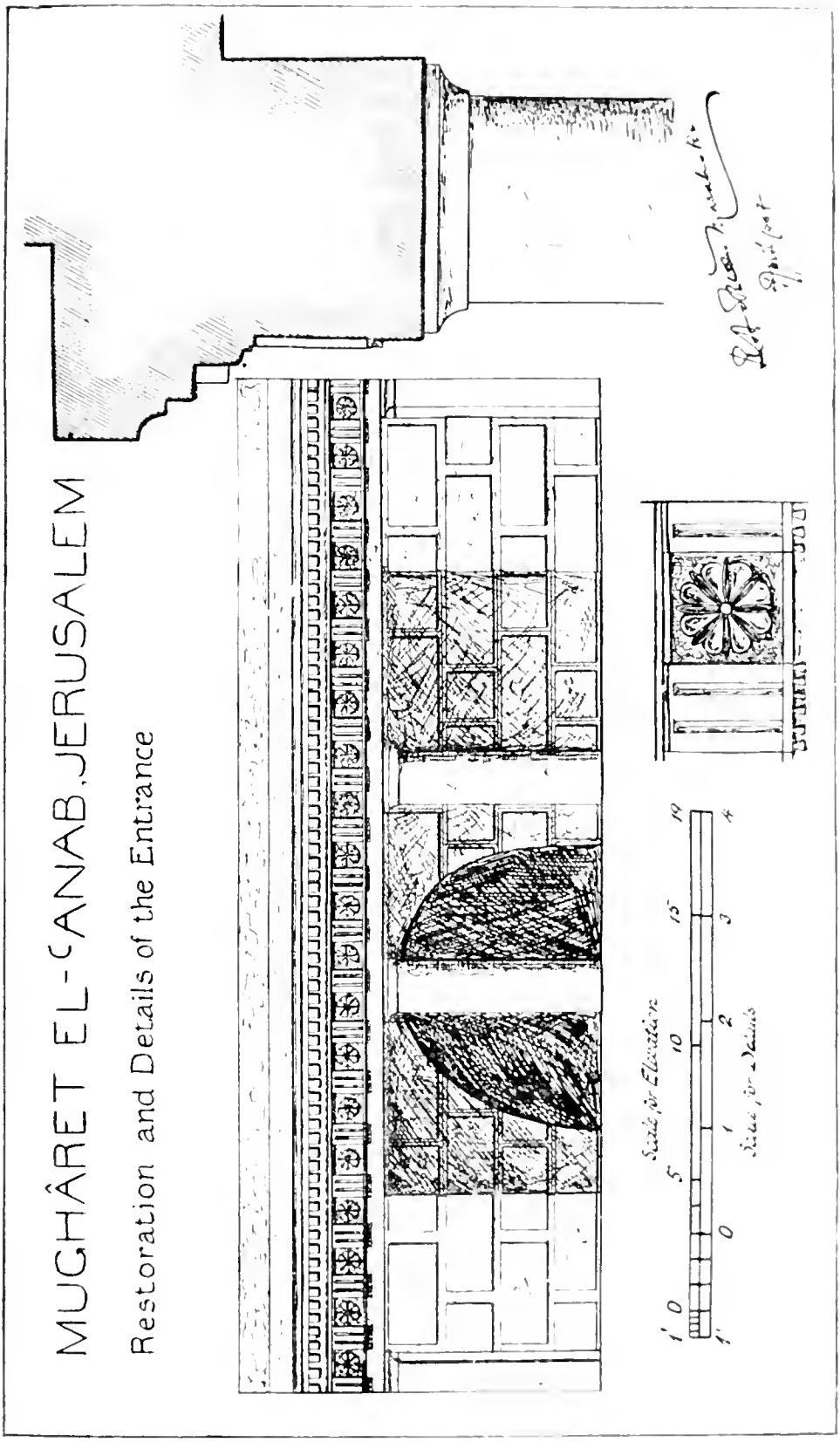
### (1) Mughâret el-'Anab.

The fine tomb known as Mughâret el-'Anab, "the cave of the grapes," is one of the most remarkable in the northern necropolis of Jerusalem. It is situated on the north side of the Wady es-Samar, not far from Sha'fât. A brief notice, without illustration, will be found in the "Jerusalem" volume of the *Survey Memoirs*, p. 409.

It is unnecessary to repeat the details there given, which are accurate so far as they go. As a supplement to this account I have given the accompanying sketch, which shews the sadly dilapidated present state of the excavation, and have endeavoured to draw a restoration of the porch as it must have appeared when originally prepared. The two chambers of which the tomb itself consists are disappointingly plain and uninteresting. They are in a disagreeably unclean condition, the tomb being unfortunately used as a fold for sheep by the fellaḥîn: and I thought it hardly worth while to prepare a ground plan. The whole interest of the tomb is concentrated in the costly and elaborate porch.

This is unique among the tombs in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem in the cutting of the stone surface to imitate drafted masonry. There are the remains of five imitation courses in the vestibule, the upper course is hidden, in the elevation, by the cornice which drops (as shown in the section) to mask the upper part of the vestibule. The rude irregular arched doorway to the tomb-chamber is represented as it now exists; originally it was no doubt smaller and more worthy of the tomb, but has been hacked out to make the chambers more convenient for the base uses to which they have been turned. A smaller entrance more than half buried in the earth, to the right of this entrance, and a curious ornament shaped like an ogee arch scratched on one of the bosses of the "masonry," have been omitted from the elevation as they are perhaps not original. The vestibule measures 23 feet 9 inches by 13 feet 10 inches.

Over the entrance to the vestibule runs a Doric entablature, which must have been supported by two pillars; the base of one of


MUGHÂRET EL-ʿANAB, JERUSALEM
Restoration and Details of the Entrance
Scale for Elevation
Scale for Details

these is still to be seen, and this gives the diameter required for a restoration. The fragment of the cornice seen in the photograph, and a still smaller fragment at the other end, are all that is left of this fine piece of rock-carving. The pillars have been quarried away long since, and all the central portion of the entablature has gone with it. As the only surviving metopes show rosettes, I have in the restoration drawn rosettes in each of the 20 metopes that must originally have existed in the frieze: but it is possible that some of the central metopes had bunches of grapes (as in a now destroyed frieze that till a year or two ago existed in Wady er-Rabâbi), and that to these the name of the cave is due. Pilasters remain at the ends of the façade, and from their capitals I have adapted the capitals of the columns in the restoration. Similar capitals are to be seen in a tomb south of the "Tombs of the Judges," which was measured and described last year by Professor G. A. Barton. This is the only other tomb in the northern necropolis having a façade with pillars (*Journal Bib. Lit.*, 1904, p. 172).

The imitation of masonry (but not the entablature) returns along the east and west scarps of the forecourt of the tomb, which in this example is unusually broad and long. Many vats and other cuttings have been made in the scarps, interfering with the original design, no doubt subsequent to the plundering of the tomb and its adaptation as a dwelling or stable. The inscription mentioned in the *Memoirs* is in the western scarp; a niche, and some flaking of the rock-surface, has carried away all the letters but three. It can never have been very long, and probably contained little more than the name of the owner of this elaborate sepulchre. There was no building in the forecourt as in the case of the "Tombs of the Judges."

### (2) Kuriet es-Sa'idah and its Greek Inscription.

Kuriet es-Sa'idah (*see Memoirs*, vol. iii, pp. 134–5) is situated on the summit of the ridge running westwards from between 'Ain Karîm and Malḥah, dividing the Wady el-Werd from the upper end of the Wady es-Surâr. The site is conspicuous for many miles round from all places (like Neby Samwîl) from which a commanding view can be obtained. A small group of terebinth and kharûb trees marks it out on the otherwise bare hills.

Among the trees stand the remains of old walls attributed (in the article in the *Memoirs*) to the twelfth century in their present

form, principally on the ground of the existence among them of the haunch stones of a groined roof. These stones seem to have disappeared; at least I did not find them. There are, however, vaults with cement which cannot be very ancient as they stand. The masonry, however, looks much older, and no stone in or about the ruin shows the masonry dressing characteristic of the twelfth century. The stones are of fair size, dressed with drafts and bosses (some have two bosses), and in all probability represent a Byzantine building or buildings partly demolished and rebuilt. At the western end of the structures is a double row of vaulted cells; such rows of vaults are to be seen elsewhere, and it is not very easy to explain them or to assign a date to them. They are rectangular, open at one end and closed at the other, so that from a distance the whole building presents the appearance of a colonnade or of a blank wall according to the aspect viewed. An excellent example is Khurbet es-Subr, on the hills overlooking 'Ain Karim on the north (*Memoirs*, vol. iii, p. 126). Another stands on the west side of the road to Râm Allah, and is explained as an ancient Khân. This explanation would suit the Râm Allah example, but not the others, for they are in places where we should not expect to find such an establishment.

The eastern end of the complex consists of a number of square enclosures, now utilised as field-walls, with crops growing among them. They all display large-stone, bossed masonry, and do not look like twelfth century structures.

North of the complex is an open, grassy space in which stands a square shrine or wely of the ordinary type. This has been described in the *Memoirs*. The capital of a column built upside down over the door, and here sketched (not to scale), no doubt

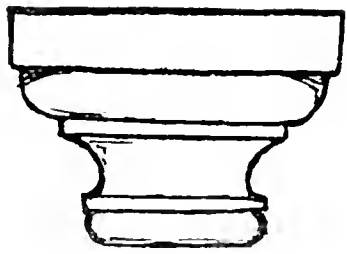


FIG. 2.—Sketch of Capital built into Wely, Kuriet es-Sa'idah.

belongs to some part of the earlier structures, but no columns, drums, or bases are to be seen anywhere in the ruins. There is

nothing among the earlier remains that can be called a church, and as the rock is close to the surface it is not likely that the foundations of such a building are concealed in the earth. Neither can I find any traces of interments, except it be a half-effaced Muslim tomb or two within the precincts of the wely itself.

This being so, the ecclesiastical connexions indicated by the Greek inscription are not a little curious. There is a sketch of this inscription in the *Memoirs* (*loc. cit.*) which is correct so far as the copy of the letters goes, but it is accompanied by an impossible rendering. The inscription is cut on two blocks of stone, one lying loose in the open space south of the wely, and the other built upside down in one of the field-walls to the south of the ruin. The first is 5 feet 9 inches long, 2 feet 2 inches broad, and 1 foot 8 inches thick; the second is 3 feet 9 inches long, with the same cross dimensions. They are lintel stones, the reveal and bolt holes being quite clear. The lettering is well cut, but I do not think the opinion expressed in the *Memoirs*, that it is not older than the twelfth century, can possibly be endorsed: it much resembles the square character of the Imperial rescript found at Bîr es-Seb'a a couple of years ago, and is, I have little doubt, of approximately the same date. That the inscriptions belong to one another is evident from the similarity of their technique and measurements; and the whole looks like a lintel, bearing an inscription divided into two parts by the cross in a circle which is so common an ornament of lintels of the Byzantine period.

But when we try to fit the fragments of the inscription together on this scheme we find that the sequence makes no intelligible sense. To interpret the writing it is necessary to reverse the order in which we take the fragments, which gives us

**ΜΑΡΙΝΟΥ ΔΙΑΚΟ** *καὶ* **ΤΟΥ ΤΟΚΤΗϹ ΜΑ . . . .**

"Of Marinus the Deacon and of his father Ma . . . ."

taking **ΤΟΚΤΗϹ** as a barbarism for *τοκέων*. It thus becomes evident that we have the remains not of one lintel but of two, which spanned adjacent doorways of some building, and bore an inscription running continuously across both. The first half of the first lintel, which probably bore a specification of the nature of the property of Marinus, has been lost, as has also the second half of the second, which no doubt completed the name of his father. In the

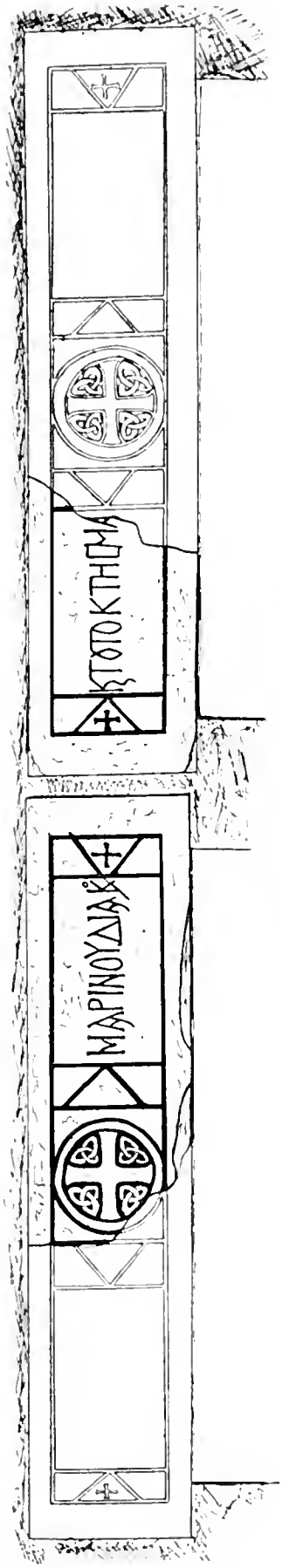



FIG. 3.—Inscription at Kuriet es-Sa'idah.

accompanying drawing (reduced from rubbings of the inscriptions and afterwards checked by comparison with the original) I have attempted a restoration of the two stones. The surviving central cross and the smaller crosses in the triangular ears at the ends of the inscribed panels, have been battered by iconoclasts. I have drawn triquetras in the angles of the cross, as these seem to be indicated by the obscure traces which this vandalism has left, but absolute certainty cannot attach to any restoration of the ornament. There was no cross in the triangular ear next to the **M** of **MAPINOY**, and therefore there can have been none in the corresponding ears which have disappeared. I made a careful search for other fragments of the lintels, but found none; in one of the square enclosures is a fragment of a sill-stone, which looks as though it belonged to the same doorways.

On the northern slope of the hill on which the ruins stand, a short distance down from the brow of the hill is one of the very few columbaria in the Jerusalem district.[1] It is a cave 22 feet 3 inches long, 10 feet broad, with a small extension on both sides, one rectangular and the other circular, and having the walls fitted with square loculi as shown in the sketch on next page (Fig. 4). The floor is covered with rubbish so that it is impossible to stand upright in the cave:

[1] The other columbaria known in the Jerusalem district, four in number, are all in the immediate neighbourhood of the city. They are situated at Jebel Abu Ṭôr, at Neby Daûd, on the Bethany Road, and at Karm el-Khalili ("Abraham's Vineyard") respectively.

a hole has been broken in the roof. This cave, which can hardly be later than the Roman period, carries the history of the site a step farther back, behind the Muslim wely, the Crusaders' (?) vaults, and the Byzantine inscription.

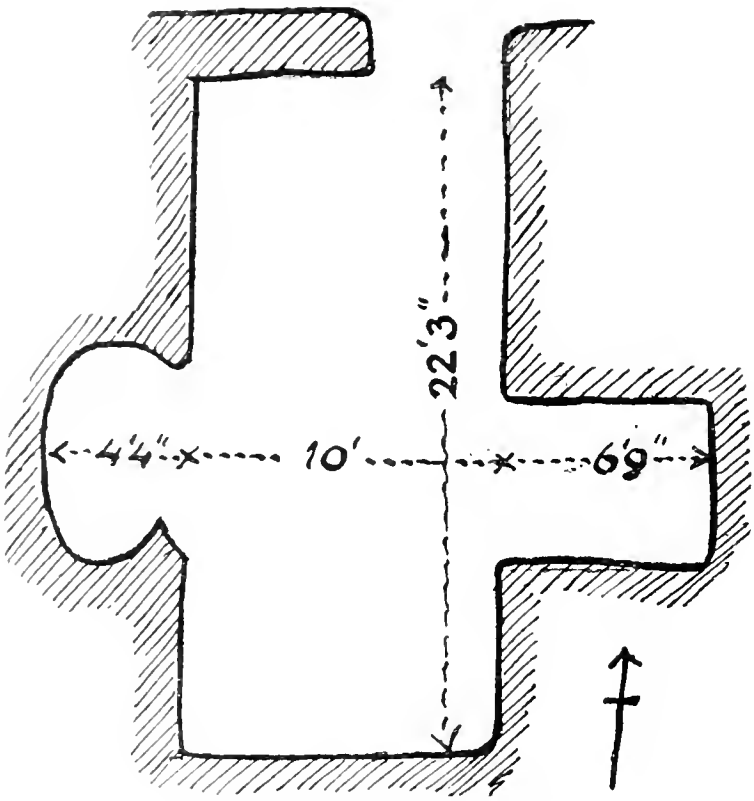



FIG. 4.—Columbarium at Kuriet es-Sa'idah.

Another relic, of perhaps yet higher antiquity, is to be seen in the same hill-slope, above the columbarium. This is a tunnel conveying water from a spring in the heart of the rock. Such tunnels occur in various parts of the Jerusalem district, and they have not received the attention their interest warrants. There are two at Neby Samwil, one at Bireh, one near 'Ain Karîm, and, above all, a magnificent example at 'Urtâs, of which I hope later to submit a plan and description. They resemble in all respects (except, of course, size) the Siloam aqueduct, and I see no reason to doubt that they may be as old as that excavation. The Kuriet es-Sa'idah example has unfortunately been lined with modern masonry, so nothing definite can be learned from it.

The researches of Professor Curtiss lead us to see in modern shrines the representatives, genealogically and topographically, of

holy places of primitive Semitic worship; and though nothing tangible on the spot suggests such analogies it is difficult to avoid regarding Kuriet es-Sa'idah as the survival of a sacred temenos of the kind. I do not know whether any special rites are performed at the wely, such as Professor Curtiss has found in various parts of the country; as is often the case ploughs and other objects are sometimes left there for safety. But though the little patch of greensward between the wely and the ruins—a space about a rood in extent—seems to be good land, the utilitarian and iconoclastic

FIG. 5.—The Wely and Sacred Enclosure, "Kuriet es-Sa'idah."

fellaḥîn, who have cultivated the land all round it, have never ventured, apparently, to touch it with the plough. This clearly shows that the whole enclosure is consecrated. If so, the probabilities are enormously in favour of its being a primitive high place, and of its grove of trees, which can be seen over a wide extent of country, being the descendants of the sacred trees at which worshipped the primitive ancestors of the modern Muslim fellaḥîn.

In connection with this view, a very interesting feature in the surrounding landscape must be taken into account. This is the remarkable series of conical mounds which dot the whole ridge

between Kuriet es-Sa'idah and Malḥah. The following measurements of one of these will serve as giving an idea of all: Circumference at base, 490 feet; diameter at top, 44 feet; length of sloping side, 67 feet; approximate vertical height, 30 feet. These mounds, with their names, are described in the *Memoirs* (vol. iii, p. 156); that of which the measurements are here given is Rujm el-Barîsh, which is the finest example. The hollow made by the excavation referred to in the *Memoirs* (*loc. cit.*) still remains; it is 12 feet 6 inches across and 5 feet deep.

So far as can be judged from a superficial examination of these mounds they resemble round barrows more than anything else, and but for one circumstance I should have no hesitation in so explaining them. If excavation can ever be made in them, and their sepulchral nature demonstrated, the fact that they form a chain which ends at Kuriet es-Sa'idah will certainly appear highly suggestive.

There is, however, an element of doubt. The one circumstance which to my mind seems to militate against the explanation of these mounds as barrows—beside the fact that barrows are unknown elsewhere in Western Palestine—is their similarity to another mound which has been partially excavated, and which has proved to possess no sepulchral character. This is the conspicuous cone known as Tell el-Fûl, on the east side of the Nâblus road, a short distance beyond Sha'fât—a place popularly identified with Gibeah. Excavations were made there at the time of the Survey, and these, though very superficial, were enough to show that the mound covers the foundations and walls of a large watch-tower of ancient, but not necessarily very ancient, masonry. Around are meagre traces of a small occupation, but that the mound represents Gibeah I do not see any reason for attempting to persuade myself.

The number and relative position of the Malḥah mounds does not necessarily preclude their being regarded as the remains of watch-towers. In the fields round and above 'Ain Karîm much space is occupied—one might almost say wasted—by large numbers of extensive and complicated watch-towers, grouped together in the same or adjacent fields.

The above comparison with Tell el-Fûl is put forward, not to advance a definite hypothesis as to the purpose of these mounds, but rather to show that the theory that naturally presents itself when the mounds are first seen is not necessarily the only explanation which can be suggested. Their external similarity to Tell

el-Fûl does not make it less probable that they are really barrows; it merely prevents us from saying that they cannot be anything else. If they were in England or some other country where barrows are recognised as ancient methods of interment, no one would entertain any doubt, even before excavation, of their sepulchral character.

Thus we see that although the ruins at Kuriet es-Sa'idah, as they stand, are not very ancient and not of very diverse periods, and though they do not show any depth of débris covering earlier structures, in the manner of a tell, yet evidences are to be found of Muslim connections, in its wely; of Byzantine ecclesiastical connections, in its inscription; of Roman (?) connections, in its columbarium; of Hebrew (?) connections, in its aqueduct; and that its history as a sacred place may go back not only to the Canaanites, but to primitive barrow-builders. In the present state of our knowledge we are obliged to mark several deductions and suggestions with a note of interrogation, but, notwithstanding, it is impossible to sit among its meagre ruins without feeling that the place is associated with traditions leading back to very remote ages.[1]

## (3) An Unpublished Inscription in the Northern Necropolis of Jerusalem.

The northern necropolis of Jerusalem well deserves a complete monograph, though the work involved would necessarily be tedious. Some years ago a search for the inscription in Hebrew letters which has been long known to exist there, but to find which I had at the time imperfect data, led me to examine every wall-surface of every chamber in the majority of the tombs—a task that occupied four days. This time was not altogether wasted, as I was enabled to form the negative conclusion that there are probably no more inscriptions to be found above ground in this, otherwise the most interesting, part of the surroundings of Jerusalem.

[1] Since the above was printed, I find on referring to Professor Clermont-Ganneau's *Archæological Researches in Palestine*, that he has also treated of the inscription at Kuriet es-Sa'idah—a fact that had slipped my memory while the foregoing paper was being written. He has forestalled me in observing that a missing lintel must be postulated in order to complete the inscription—a conclusion that I reached independently—but in both arrangement and interpretation his rendering of the inscription differs from that above suggested. —R. A. S. M.

As it happens, I found the object of my search before turning my attention to the tomb containing the epitaph now recorded; so that I failed then to notice the inscription, and knew nothing of it till my eye happened to fall upon it in the course of a casual afternoon walk during last Easter vacation. To enable others to find the inscription without difficulty, I give the following directions:—Take the road leading to the "Tombs of the Judges" as far as the first group of tombs in the necropolis. Here a path branches to the right, in the direction of the house of the Spafford colony. Following this path for a few paces, a small field-track will be found to lead to the left, which after a short distance descends a low declivity: the tomb required is in the face of this declivity, on the left-hand side of the track.

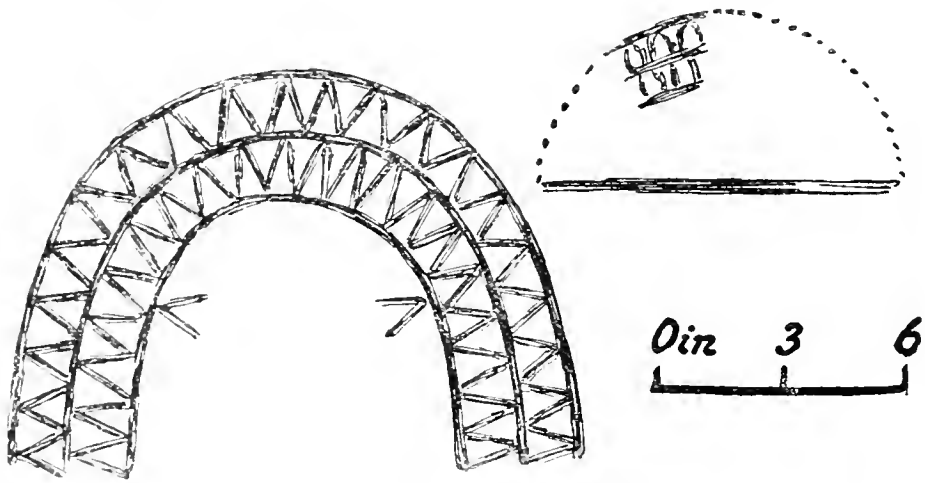



FIG. 6.—Painted ornament in tomb in the Northern Necropolis of Jerusalem.

It consists of a small chamber six paces long, with the outer wall quarried away, having an arcosolium in the left-hand wall, and a blocked-up entrance to an inner chamber in the middle of the back wall.

At the end of the back wall, low down and near the arcosolium above referred to, is the curious ornament (Fig. 6) painted in dark Indian red. It is much defaced, and, to me, unintelligible.

The inscription (Fig. 7) is also painted red, but of a lighter shade. It much resembles the red painted inscriptions in Wady er-Rabâbi. It is on the left-hand side of the entrance to the inner chamber. When I first noticed it I could not feel sure, so indistinct is it, that it was not merely a series of red oxide stains, like those in "Solomon's quarries," and, indeed, there are a number of such stains

in the walls of this tomb, especially over the inner entrance. After careful washing, however, the letters come out with tolerable clearness, but unfortunately, owing to its defaced condition, a connected reading of the inscription cannot be given. Enough, however, remains to show that it is unique among the tomb-inscriptions round Jerusalem (excluding ossuaries) in being bilingual; but the two legends seem independent, and do not help to an interpretation of one another.

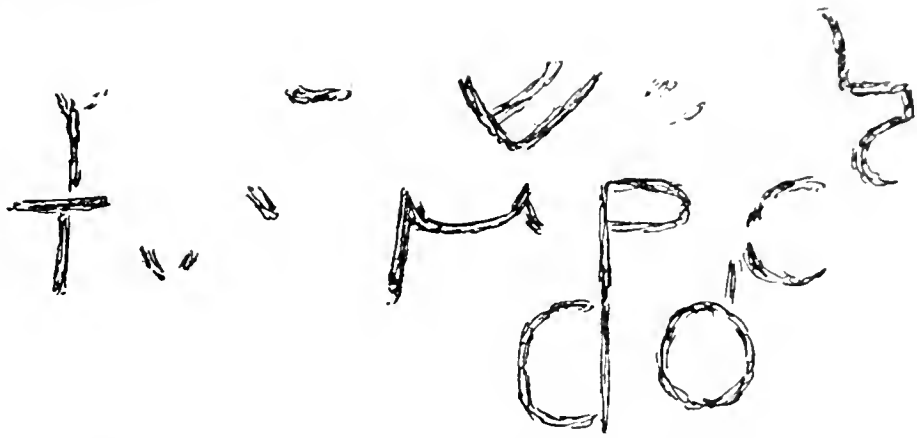


FIG. 7.—Painted inscription in tomb in the Northern Necropolis of Jerusalem.

Of the Hebrew inscription, which occupies the top line, I can make nothing, but ליש, with three indecipherable letters—one before and two following the ש. The Greek is more promising: it fills the two remaining lines, and may possibly be—

T[ΘA]M<B>PO
CIO<Y>

letters in square brackets being those defaced, those in angled brackets being omitted. This would mean "Of Ambrosios," but I cannot feel any certainty about this rendering.

# THE IMMOVABLE EAST.

(*Continued from p.* 137.)

By Philip G. Baldensperger, Esq.

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## The Fellaḥîn.

As a rule the house of the Fellaḥ is composed of a single room which is divided into different portions; in addition to this there is a court in front of the house, which is the real dwelling-place in summer. Larger animals, such as camels, cows, and donkeys, find a place in the front part of the room, which, being a step lower than the other parts, is called "the bottom of the house" (*ḳa' ed-dâr*). The camels kneel next the wall with the head towards the family, then in succession come the cows and donkeys, sometimes tethered, with a manger before them, called *methwed* (مذود). The last-mentioned is not above the level of the ground, and is merely shut round about by a small bank of mortar. In the second part of this room is the *meṣṭabet* (مصطبة), the sitting-room and bedroom of the family. It contains the best furniture of the house, and is about half a yard higher than the other part already referred to. On this floor is a hearth in one corner where the housewife sits and prepares the food. There is no chimney, and the smoke after filling the room escapes by the door or by a small hole above the windows—if there are any. In winter, and this is the only time when they really have a fire inside, the smoke is certainly a nuisance, until the fire has burned up and kept a temperate heat, and is then very agreeable to those almost clothesless people. The bedding is put away in the daytime in a niche formed in the back wall. This room is divided off from the store-room, called *ḳate'* (قتع), for straw, wood, &c. Sometimes there is another upper floor, called *rawiet* (راوية) or *siddet* (سدة), sometimes used by the older people, when two married families occupy the same dwelling-place. Below the *rawiet* is a dark recess known as the "Secret place" (*sirr*). A small poultry-shed (*khum*) is built in some corner of the lower room. The hens are sometimes shut up here at night, though they usually prefer to perch on the *khabiet* in the store-room. All these divisions

are under the same roof. When there are herds these are in a stable, either a big cave with a large court in front or a chamber built on the same principles as the house.

The houses of the Jerusalem district are well built, durable erections of stone with vaulted arches, built by masons from Bethlehem. Those in the mountain country of Ephraim and Hebron have but two stone arches, equi-distant from the outside walls, and the intervening space is covered with trunks of trees cut from the forests. These rude beams are called *jisr*, and require to be renewed from time to time. They are referred to in Eccles. x, 18: "By slothfulness, the beams decay, and through idleness of the hands the house leaketh." These are filled in with small brushwood, upon which is placed a layer of earth and stones, and finally a thick layer of clay and straw well kneaded together and spread over with the hands. When freshly laid the grains which have been in the straw spring up, and the roof looks like a field where the crops begin to sprout, but on account of the thinness of the soil it soon withers again. It is this grass on the house-top which is referred to by the prophet Isaiah (2 Kings xix, 26, Isaiah xxxvii, 27) in his description of the passing away of the Assyrian might under Sennacherib. When winter approaches the roofs are plastered over again and levelled and pressed as much as possible with a stone roller to avoid the disagreeable dripping of the water (alluded to in Proverbs xix, 13, and xxvii, 15), which sooner or later invariably sets in after heavy rains. A hole leading to the back part of the house is called *rôzanet* (روزنة); through this the *tibn* (short-cut straw) is taken into the house, since the bundles would be too large to pass through the doors. The houses in the maritime plains are still more miserable, and cannot stand any lengthy rain. They are built of unhewn stones and mortar, with as little lime as possible. The roofs are all of wood, without arches to support them, and as they stretch across from one wall to the other they are necessarily smaller. A good deal of brushwood and thorn is used to fill up the crevices of the roof before setting the final layer of sand above, and consequently they easily catch fire. I have never heard of houses in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem, where the houses are all stone, catching fire, but in the plains (especially since petroleum has been introduced) incendiarism is by no means rare. As regards the latter point we read of the relatives of Samson's bride threatening to

burn her and her father's house with fire (Judges xiv, 15), which was only possible in a region where the roofs were built of wood. The houses of the plains often fall in after rains, and there alone could Samson, who well knew how badly they were built, ask to be placed between the two wooden pillars which supported the house (Judges xviii, 29–30).

In the mountains, in the case of those who have houses of stone with vaulted roofs, an upper storey is sometimes built. This is called *'oliet* (علية),[1] from its being high, and is lit by a couple of windows called *mejwez* (مجوز), *i.e.*, the pair. Little or no lime is used for the walls, and the roof is made by laying branches across. The smaller houses (*sekîfet*) never have windows. In the plains they are a little wider, and are called *bâ'iket*, and as the material with which they are built is much softer, thieves can easily break through without noise.[2]

Many fellaḥîn who live in caves build a wall in front of the mouth; this dwelling is called *shĕkîf*, or cleft. The inhabitants of Siloam have many such buildings built into the rock, both in the village itself and in the environs, and many such rock-dwellings in the Valley of Hinnom are now only inhabited by goats. In the Valley of Khareiṭûn, below the Frank Mountains, the Ta'amry have many rock-houses, now principally used as sheep-cotes and barns. When the people of Urṭâs are in danger of being seized by the Government they retire to these rock-houses, which are inaccessible to cavalry. The prophet Jeremiah, a native of Anathoth, probably knew not only the rock inhabitants of Siloam, but also those of the inaccessible Valley of Adullam (Jer. xxi, 13). Obadiah, too, pronouncing the judgment of Edom, refers to the almost impregnable rock-castle of Kerak (Obad., v. 3). "Thou that dwellest in the clefts of the rock, whose habitation is high."

The floors of most of the houses are not of flagstones, as in the towns, but are plastered with the simplest and most accessible material they can find. In the mountains small stones, earth, and lime, or bits of potsherds, are mixed together, whilst in the plains earth alone is used, and nearer the sea gravel and sand is employed. The walls of the houses are sometimes plastered and white-washed inside in the better class villages as Bethlehem, Beth Jâla, and

[1] This corresponds to the *'aliyyah* עֲלִיָּה of the Old Testament.

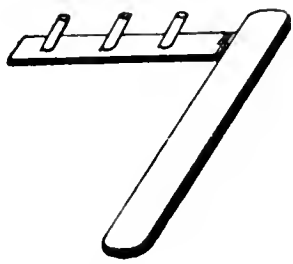
[2] *Cp.* Job xxiv, 16.

Râmallah, or they are plastered with clay, a work which is done by the women. These walls are sometimes covered with rough designs, and, although some are supposed to represent animals, yet the lines are almost always at right angles, so that even a moon is represented quite square and a horse is drawn by means of a number of triangles.[1]

In the vaulted houses the ceiling is called *'aḳd*, in the others *saṭeḥ*, and the roof is designated *ḥuiṭ*, which means "protected," although, as a matter of fact, it is not protected at all on the most dangerous side.

In the mountainous regions the houses usually are built against the steep sides of the mountain, and the roofs are therefore easily climbed without a staircase. A wall is often built against the side towards the street, to prevent animals or children getting up and walking on the fruit, which is spread there (as being the best protected place) to dry.

The houses have seldom more than one door, and at the most only one window, for windows are the privilege of the stone houses, and therefore only found in the mountains. Sometimes there are two windows, divided only by a narrow lintel before which is a moulding, on which the head of the family sits to look out when he has nothing to do or takes his meals when inclined to be alone. There is no lattice, so common in towns, and the windows are closed at night-time by solid shutters bolted with wooden bolts. The shutters are called *bâb eṭ-Ṭâḳat*, that is, door of the window. When the door is shut from the inside big wooden bolts are used. The key (*meftâḥ*) is of wood, and has three wooden teeth to fit into



three holes which push up the bolt and thus allow one to open or shut the door. A small hole is left in the bottom of the door, to allow the hens to go in and out when the door is shut.

[1] See *Quarterly Statement*, 1893, p. 216.

The furniture of the house has next to be considered. First there is a mat (when the houses are near to the villages that make them). It takes the place of the carpet, which is rolled up and put in the niche with the bedding. The fellaḥîn call the carpet *ḥujra(t)*, it is made by the women from the hair of the goats and the wool of the sheep. As cushions they have the *waṣade(t)*, the pillow-case of which is of thick woven wool and hair like the *ḥujra(t)*. The carpet is spread out for guests and is used as a mattress at night time by the whole family. A large coverlet called *liḥâf* completes the bedding. The bedding, as a whole, is called *farâsh* ("spreading"), and when the man orders his wife to prepare the sleeping apartment he says simply *uffurshi* ("spread"). The *ḥujra(t)* is such an essential part of the household belongings that a family without one is considered really poor. The Hebrews, no doubt, had their carpets, and it is possible that the word *yĕrî'ôth* (יְרִיעוֹת) usually rendered curtains (Exodus xxvi, 1, &c.) should sometimes be thus translated. So when the Psalmist says "Who stretchest out the heavens like a curtain" (Psalms civ, 2, R.V.), we should remember that a curtain must be vertical, whilst the heavens are spread more after the manner of a carpet. When the Hebrews left tents to dwell in houses of stone, the tent-curtains were no doubt used as carpets. Curtains are called *mâsâk* (Exodus xxvi, 36) for the doors, and *kĕlâ'îm* (Exodus xxvii, 9) for the hangings of the tabernacle. At the present day the carpets of the fellaḥîn are generally grey (from the undyed mixture of hair and wool), with lines of red or blue from the dyed wool woven into it.

The most necessary implements are those used for culinary purposes, though they have no kitchen, but simply a hearth set upon the floor in the best part of the room. Two large stones or two small parallel walls constitute the hearth, where in winter time the fire is also kept to warm the room.

The fellaḥîn have fewer copper implements than the madanîyeh.[1] They comprise (*a*) the big caldron (*dist*), which, though used for washing, is mostly intended for the cooking of whole sheep or goats at feasts; (*b*) the *ṭanjara(t)*, perhaps the Biblical *kiyyôr*; (*c*) the frying pan (*meḳlîyet*) made of iron; (*d*) the *ḳidre(t)*, the earthenware kettle used in every household; it is almost round with an opening smaller than the body of the kettle and two enormous handles by which to

[1] See *Quarterly Statement*, 1903, p. 166 *sq.*

lift it. This may be the *fîrûr* used by the Israelites to prepare the manna (Numbers xi, 8). A long wooden ladle is always used to stir the food or to take it out into the dishes.

The food is set before the family in wooden plates, which are of various sizes and have three different names. The largest is called *bâ'ie(t)*, it is also used to wash the clothes in. The second is the *ḳadaḥ*, which may also be used to soak the food for the camel,[1] and the smallest one, often not larger than an ordinary soup plate, is the *hanâbe(t)*, which is used for honey or oil, or for any liquid food into which the bread is dipped. The food in this case is presented on the straw tray (*ṭabaḳ*). The rolling pin, *merak*, is called *shubak* in the towns. Water is stored in a big jar (the *zir*), which is always kept in the corner before the entrance, with a small cup of tin or pottery to drink from. Other similar utensils are the *jara(t)*, which is carried on the head by the women from the fountain to the house; the *'uslie(t)*; the *mehlabe(t)*; the *brik* (بريق), and the *sahn* (صحن), a deep bowl.[2] The various water skins are called *zarf*, *ḳirby* (قربة), *si'in*, and *'ekke(t)*. The *jrâb* (جراب) is a leather bag with leather straps, generally home-made and very carefully tanned from kids' skins, in which are carried provisions when on a journey or for a day's work away from home. It is also used for the flour, and is hung against the wall on a nail or peg (*watad*) to keep it from damp or from the depredations of animals. Isaiah xxii, 23, shows us that the (Hebrew) *yâthîd* was already in use in his days, and similarly Ezra (ix, 8) appreciates the "nail in the sure place." The men have a small *jrâb* better tanned than the above, and sometimes painted red on the outside; it also is home-made and is used for tobacco, and is called *kistutun*.

The hand-mill is found in every house, and fixed into a kind of clay tray so that the flour falls into this and is gathered and put into the *jrâb*. The mill is called *taḥûne(t)*, but in some districts, towards Egypt, has the name *raḥi*, with which we may compare the Hebrew (dual) *rêḥayim*. Another kind of hand-mill is called *mejrashe(t)* it only breaks the corn, or else is used to prepare the vetches for the camel's food. Before the wheat is put into the mill it is sifted through the sieve (*gharbâl*), which is made of the sinews of the sheep. The women sift with great dexterity, rubbing the

[1] The dough is also kneaded in it.

[2] See *Quarterly Statement*, 1904, p. 51 *sqq.*

tiny stones (*ṣurûr*) about the wheat and, cleverly shaking the sieve, catch the stones in her lap, thus illustrating the sifting of the House of Israel referred to in Am. ix, 9. The flour sieve (*munkhul*) is of horse-hair, and the straw sieve (*kurbâl*) is only used on the threshing floor to sift the straw out of the wheat after the wind has done most of the work.

The cradles are made of wood, and have two semi-circular legs to rock them. There is nothing particular to note about the *srîr*, as it is called; it is to be found in every house where there are young children.

Households which can afford the luxury have the special coffee implements, consisting of the coffee-pan with iron ladle chained to it (the *meḥmasse(t)* is simply a broad iron ladle with a long handle, and is used solely for the roasting of coffee); the *buḳruj* or coffee-pot of brass, in which the coffee is boiled; the *jurn* or *hâwen*, the wooden mortar for pounding the beans; the *medaḳ*, a stone or wooden pestle; and, finally, the small lamp (*ṣrâj*) for which is provided a small niche in the wall, or it stands upon a wooden pedestal called *meṣraje(t)*; this, however, I have only seen in the plains of Sharon.

The lamp is, or rather used to be, the well-known oval earthen oil lamp, but it is fast disappearing, and tin lamps for petroleum are now found even in the remotest villages. The lamp is tended by the women, who buy the oil out of their own savings and keep the lamp burning all night. A man who found his house without a light would curse the darkness and the woman who had not kept the light burning. The *nêr* or lamp of the Hebrews was regarded in much the same manner as the *ṣrâj* of the fellaḥîn. Darkness then as now was a calamity, and the lamps were kept burning all night (Prov. xiii, 9; xx, 20; Job xviii, 6). Then also the woman tended the light, and it is said of the model woman in the last chapter of Proverbs, "Her *nêr* goeth not out by night" (xxxi, 18). A lamp-stand was among the objects which the rich woman in Shunem put into the upper chamber for the prophet Elisha (2 Kings, iv, 10). It is called *mĕnôrâh*, and was, no doubt, a wooden stand like the modern *meṣraje(t)*.

Every saint's tomb has a light or lamps to light it, and the tradition is that when the lamp is not lit the saint lights it himself.

(*To be continued.*)

# PALESTINIAN ANIMAL FOLK-LORE.

By the Rev. J. E. Hanauer.

The following specimens of animal lore which I have come across during many years past were heard from the lips of Arab children in Bishop Gobat's school or of fellahin, &c., in different parts of the country. Unfortunately, when I heard the stories, I (except in a few cases) omitted to make a note of the persons from whom I heard them; this, of course, may somewhat lessen their value, but, nevertheless, I hope that they will not be altogether uninteresting to the readers of the *Quarterly Statement*:—

1. The reason of the antipathy between the dog and the cat, who were originally good friends, is, as a dragoman told me, as follows:—"When the various kinds of animals had their respective duties in the world assigned to them, the dog and cat, although classed amongst domestic animals, were exempted from menial drudgery, the former because of his faithfulness, and the latter because of her cleanliness. At their special request they received a written document attesting and confirming this privilege. It was handed to the dog for safe-keeping, and he buried it where he kept his stock of old bones. Filled with envy, the horse, ass, and ox purchased the services of the rat, who, burrowing underground, found and destroyed the charter. Ever since that time the dog has been liable, on account of his carelessness, to be tied or chained up by his master, and besides that, the cat has never forgiven him. Both cat and dog hate the rats and kill them whenever they can. The horse, ass, and ox, on the other hand, permit the rats to share their provender."

2. "The cat is a clean beast," said one of the Bethlehem fellahin, "it had the blessing and seal of Solomon set upon it. Therefore, if a cat drinks out of a can containing milk, drinking water, &c., what remains after she has quenched her thirst is not *nijjis* or unclean, and may be used by human beings. The dog, however, is unclean, and water, &c., from which he has drunk is polluted."

The cat is a blessed creature, because, as is often related, it destroys not only rats but also serpents. When the Prophet was

a camel-driver, he was asleep one hot day in the shade of some bushes in the desert. A serpent came out of a hole and would have killed him had not a cat that happened to be prowling about pounced upon and destroyed it. When the Prophet awoke he saw what had happened, and, calling the cat to him, he caressed and blessed it. Ever since that event he was fond of cats. It is said that one day he cut off the long sleeve of his robe, upon which his pet cat was asleep, rather than disturb her slumbers. It was out of gratitude to the creature for having saved his life whilst he was asleep as above related. But whilst the cat is a blessed animal, strange cats that come to a house, and especially black cats, should be avoided, as they may be *'afâriyat* in disguise. The following story, which I heard from one of Sir Charles Warren's watchmen, a Nubian, proves this:—A great Mohammedan sheikh in Egypt, I forget his name, had a pet black cat of which he was very fond, and which used to sleep near him at night. One night the sheikh was unwell and unable to sleep. As he lay awake he heard a cat mewing in the street under his window. His favourite at once arose and went to the window. The other cat called her distinctly by name and asked her, in Arabic, whether there were any food in the house. She answered, also in Arabic, that there was plenty, but that neither she nor the other could get it because the name of Allah was always pronounced over the stores of provisions, &c., in the house, and therefore the would-be guest would do better to go elsewhere. This shows that demons sometimes disguise themselves as cats. Lilith, called also "La Broosha" by Spanish Jewesses, and El Karineh by the fellaḥîn, is said to do this very often.

This is what a Spanish Jewess related to me:—"It is quite true that La Broosha often takes the shape of a cat. This is what my mother told me happened when she was born. It was told her by her mother, my grandmother. Both were very truthful women. For nine days after a child has been born the mother and baby ought never to be left alone in a room. What happened when my mother was born was this. My great-grandmother, who was nursing my grandmother, had gone out of the room, leaving the latter and the infant (who was afterwards my mother) dozing. When she came back the patient told her that she had had a strange dream during her absence. She had seen a great black cat come in as soon as her mother's back was turned. It walked into a

corner of the room and turned itself into a jar. A cat was then heard mewing in the street, and the jar thereupon became a cat again. It came up to the bed (my grandmother being paralysed with fear and helpless), the cat took the baby, went with it to the window and called out 'Shall I throw?' 'Throw,' was the answer given by the cat outside. Thrice the cat in the sick room asked the same question and got the same answer. She then threw the baby (my mother) out of the window. Just at that moment my great-grandmother returned and the cat suddenly vanished. My great-grandmother, noticing that the baby was not in its cradle nor in its mother's bed, with great presence of mind hid her alarm and said to my grandmother: 'Of course you were only dreaming. It was I who came and took the little one in order to change its clothes whilst you were fast asleep, and I shall bring it back in a moment.' So saying she left the room quietly, but as soon as she got outside and had closed the door behind her, she rushed out of the house and beheld a huge cat crossing a field with the child in its mouth. Love lent her speed. She soon overtook the dreadful creature, and being a wise woman who knew exactly what to do in such an emergency, she uttered a form of adjuration which forced the demon not only to relinquish its prey, but, moreover, to swear that for eleven generations to come it would not molest her family or its descendants. My great-grandmother then brought the infant back, but it was not till long after its mother was well and strong again that she told her that her supposed dream had been a frightful reality."

The cat, as we have seen, is highly respected, especially amongst the Moslem fellaḥîn. To kill one is considered by many a great sin, which would surely bring misfortune to the perpetrator. When a fellaḥ of my acquaintance lost his eyesight, he and other fellaḥîn at Urṭas attributed the misfortune to Divine retribution, seeing that he had in his younger days ventured to shoot several cats. As I have already pointed out, it is believed that demons sometimes take the shape of cats. On the other hand the cat is also considered a type of craft and hypocrisy, as is proved by the following fable:—

"A town cat that had destroyed almost all the mice and rats in the neighbourhood found itself forced to go into the fields and hunt for lizards, &c., to satisfy its hunger. In its necessity it bethought

itself of the following ruse: It stayed away for some weeks from its old haunts, and then, returning, lay down in front of a mouse and rat warren, whilst with a *mushaḥah*, or rosary, round its neck, and with eyes half closed, it began to purr as loudly as it could. After a while a mouse peeped out of a hole, but seeing the cat, hastily retired. 'Why do you flee?' asked pussy; *tefuḍḍul*, 'welcome, I am glad to be back home again, and instead of showing pleasure at the return of an old neighbour from the long journey that I have taken, you run away as soon as you see me. Come and visit me, fear not.' Surprised at hearing itself thus addressed, the mouse again ventured to the door of his hole and said, 'How can you expect me to visit you, are you not the enemy of my race? Should I accept your invitation you would surely seize and devour me as you did my parents and so many others of my kindred.' 'Alas!' answered the cat, 'your reproaches are just, I have been a great criminal and deserve your abuse and enmity. But I am sincerely penitent, and have turned over a new leaf. I have, as you see from this *mushaḥah* round my neck devoted myself to prayer, meditation, and the recital of holy books, the whole of which I have learned by heart, and was just repeating when you happened to look out of your hole. Besides this I have visited the holy places and have just returned from my pilgrimage so that I am now not only a *ḥâfi*; (*i.e.*, a scholar who knows the whole Scripture by rote), but also a *ḥajji*. Go, my injured, but nevertheless generous and forgiving friend, make my change of life and sentiments known to the rest of your people and bid them no longer shun my society, seeing that I am become a recluse. Whilst you are absent I shall resume my recitation. Purr, rrr, rrr, rrr, &c.'

"Much surprised at the news he had just heard the mouse made it known to the rest of his tribe. They were at first incredulous, but at last, after one and another had ventured to peep from the mouth of its hole and had beheld the whiskered ascetic with the rosary round his neck, apparently oblivious of all earthly things, and steadily repeating his purr, rrr, rrr, rrr, which they supposed to be the recital of holy books, they thought that there might be some truth in the matter and convened a meeting of mice and rats to discuss it. After much debate it was judged right to test the reality of the cat's conversion, but to be prudent at the same time, and so a large and powerful rat was sent out to forage for the community. Being a wary and experienced veteran he kept out of

the cat's reach, though he saluted him respectfully from a distance. The cat allowed the rat to prowl about unmolested for a long time in the hope that other rats and mice would soon issue forth and that his prey would then be not only easily caught but also be plentiful. No others came, however, and at last the pangs of hunger made him resolve to wait no longer but seize the game in sight. The rat, however, was on the alert and darted off the instant he noticed, from a slight movement of the cat's muscles, that the pretended saint was about to slay him. 'Why do you go away so abruptly'? mewed puss, 'are you tired of hearing me repeat Scripture, or do you doubt the correctness of my recitation'? 'Neither,' answered the rat as he peeped from the hole in which he had taken refuge, 'I am convinced that you have indeed committed the holy books perfectly to memory, but at the same time I am convinced that, however much you have acquired by rote, you have neither forgotten nor unlearnt your habits of pouncing upon us.'"

3. From Sir Charles Warren's fellah excavators in 1867, or thereabouts, I heard the following:—"The reason why dogs, jackals, &c., sometimes go mad is well known. It is simply this: There exists a wonderful bird called *ṭayr eṣ-ṣâfât*, (طير الصافات). It never alights upon the earth, but mates whilst on the wing, lays its eggs and also manages to hatch them whilst flying. The shells of this bird's eggs and its droppings only reach the earth's surface. They are very poisonous, but, nevertheless, they are eagerly devoured by a wild beast called *esh-shibeh*.[1] The *ṣâfât* egg-shells eaten by the Shibeh bring on hydrophobia. The creature goes mad, biting every animal that crosses its path and thus the deadly water-fear-sickness is spread and propagated."

[1] This animal was described to me as being something between a badger and a hyæna, both in appearance and size. It is said to be very ferocious, has long and powerful claws, with which it burrows underground and also digs dead bodies out of their graves. In 1869 it was reported at Jerusalem that one of these creatures had carried off some Ta'amireh children from a camp somewhere near the Frank mountain. In September of the same year, whilst accompanying Sir Charles Warren's party to Hermon and the temples on the Anti-Libanus, we were frequently told that the *shibeh* had carried off children recently from some place or other. Europeans at Beirût and on the Lebanon explained the story by the hypothesis that a cane-brake on the Euphrates having caught fire, one or more lions driven from their lairs by the conflagration had wandered westwards and done damage.

In a former paragraph I remarked that the dog is considered an unclean animal. Some of the stricter Moslems (as I have heard) are said to think it so unclean that if one of these animals got wet and shook the water out of his coat at a distance of 40 steps from a member of the Shafi sect who was performing his prayers, that worshipper would at once rise, perform the preliminary ablutions again, and then begin the prayers from the very beginning. This statement, however, may be only an Oriental exaggeration. On the other hand, although it is generally allowed that the dog is *nijjis*, *i.e.*, unclean, there are always people who are fond of the affectionate and sagacious creature. There was, in my boyhood, a story told of a Moslem who owned a beautiful *slûgî* or greyhound to which he was very much attached. When it died he buried it in his garden with his own hands. Enemies of his thereupon went and accused him to the authorities of having buried an unclean beast with the respect and ceremonies due only to a believer. He would have been severely dealt with had he not let the judge know that the dog had earned the right to decent burial by having left a will in which a large sum of money had been mentioned as a legacy to his worship.

A fellaḥ shepherd, whom I often met on the hill sides near Artûf, who had a large and handsome Kurdi dog, of which he was very fond and with whom I frequently saw him sharing his meal, told me one day that though the animal was indeed *nijjis* outside, yet that his *nîyeh* (نيّة) or character was good, and added that Ibrahim El-Khalîl, on whom be peace, was in his day hospitable, not only to men but to dogs also. His flocks were so numerous that 4,000 dogs were needed to guard them, and were daily fed by the Patriarch's bounty. I have also been told (I cannot vouch for the accuracy of the statement, but give it as I heard it) that in ancient times if anybody killed a dog belonging to another he was liable to be called upon to pay a *dîya* (ديّة), or blood-compensation for the creature just as he would have to do had he taken the life of a human being. The way in which this amount of compensation is said to have been calculated is worth describing. The dead creature was hung up by the tail with its nose touching the ground. Wheat, or, according to another statement, flour was then heaped around the carcase till the latter was quite hidden. The value of the grain or meal thus heaped up was then estimated,

and the slayer of the dog had to pay the equivalent. The popular ideas concerning dogs may be gathered from proverbs. The following are specimens of Arabic dog-proverbs: "It is better to feed a dog than to feed a man," the reason given being that the dog will not forget the kindness, whilst the human animal may. "For want of horses dogs were harnessed." "It is the sheikh's dog that is sheikh."

*Bir el-Kelb* is the name given to a cistern close to the Tombs of the Kings, and situated just at the point where the road coming from Bab es-Sâhiri "Herod's Gate," joins the great road to Nablûs. My own opinion is that the said cistern derived its name from the fact that the modern Jews of Jerusalem call the Tombs of the Kings the Sepulchres of Kalbâ Shebua, the father-in-law of Rabbi Akiba. During the years 1887–1891 I was living in a large house close by, and the old sheikh of the adjacent Moslem shrine of Sheikh Jerrah told me the following legend: "A great many years ago a man was murdered at this spot, and it is said that his dog used to come and lie down there and attack everyone who passed by. The animal was therefore killed, but it was of no use, for his ghost (*ruṣad*) and that of his murdered owner now appeared and frightened wayfarers. In order to appease the ghosts the brother of the murdered man had the cistern and drinking fountain constructed on the fatal spot for the free use of men and beasts. Since then the apparitions have no longer been seen, but the cistern is still called *Bir el-Kelb*, the dog's cistern as well." Another version of the story is that the dog discovered the body of his murdered master which had been thrown into the cistern by those who slew him.

4. "The hyæna is an evil and accursed beast. Not only does he dig up and devour the bodies of the dead, but he also bewitches the living and lures them to his den. He is wont to come up at night to the solitary wayfarer, rub himself against his side, &c., as a cat does when she rubs against a person's legs, and then he runs on ahead of him. The man against whom he has rubbed himself is instantly bewitched and with the loudly repeated cry, 'O my uncle, stop, and wait for me,' he follows the hyæna as fast as he can till he gets into his den and is devoured. It sometimes happens that the entrance to the den is very low, and that when he tries to enter the human victim hits his head against a projection of the

rock. If that happens he at once recovers his senses and saves himself by flight, for the hyæna is a great coward and never attacks a man unless the latter be asleep, or has been bewitched by a hyæna. Sometimes the frightful creature hides itself behind stones or bushes near the roadside, and when after nightfall a single person passes without a lantern the hyæna sets up a groaning like that of a person in great pain. If the wayfarer turns aside to see what the matter is the wild beast will leap upon him and so startle him that he will be at once bewitched and follow the hyæna."

The following story is often told of a fellaḥ who caught a hyæna in a very clever way: "The fellaḥ was on a journey and had with him a donkey bearing a heavy sack of grain. About sunset he reached a wayside khan. As it happened to be a very hot night he tied his donkey up safely in the stable but left the sack in the open air, and wrapping his *'abba* round him laid himself down upon it and went to sleep. About midnight he was awakened by the sound of something scratching up the ground near him. Opening his eyes, he saw a large hyæna that was digging a grave alongside of him, evidently intending to kill and bury him, and later on to dig up and devour him at his leisure. As the grave was still very shallow, the fellaḥ let the hyæna dig on till the ridge of its back was some inches lower than the level of the surrounding ground. Then, suddenly starting up, the peasant quickly rolled the heavy sack of corn on to the hyæna, and kept him thus cooped up in the grave till next morning, when it was an easy task to secure him, for, though a lion at night, *eḍ-ḍab' bil-layl ṣab'*, 'the hyæna is but a dog in the daytime.'" However, even at night he fears fire, and a simple way to drive him away is to burn matches or to strike sparks with flint and steel.

5. "Abu Hassan, the fox, is one of the most cunning of beasts. His tricks and wiles are without number. If he sees that there are partridges about he notices in what direction they are likely to run, and then he runs ahead of them and lies down as if dead, foaming at his mouth. When the partridges come up they think him dead, and peck at him. They dip their bills into the saliva running from his mouth, and then he snaps at and catches them. He one day played a similar trick on a fellaḥ-woman who was carrying a basketful of live poultry to market. Seeing the way she was going,

he ran ahead and lay down as above described. When passing the spot she saw him, but did not think it worth her while to stop and skin him. As soon as she was out of sight the fox jumped up and, making a detour, again lay down in the road at a point she would have to pass. She was surprised to see it, and said to herself, 'Has a pestilence broken out amongst the sons of Awi? Had I skinned the first I saw lying by the roadside it would have been worth my while to stop for this one, but as I did not then, I shall not do so now.' She went on her way and her surprise was unbounded when, after a while, she noticed what she believed to be a third fox dead on the roadside. 'Verily, I have done wrong,' thought she 'to neglect the good things Allah has placed in my way. I shall leave my fowls here, and return to secure the pelts of the first two before others take them.' No sooner said than done, but before she had time to return, wondering, but empty-handed, Abu Hassan had secured his prey and departed."

6. "The story of the death of Mûsa, who spoke with Allah, and on whom be peace, is too well-known to need repetition. Suffice it to say that, disgusted with the solicitations of Azrael, the Angel of Death, that he would give him permission to take his spirit, he left the children of Israel in their camp, and wandered amongst the hills near Buḥairet Lûṭ (the Dead Sea). Here he met the shepherd in whose charge the flocks of Sho'aib, the father-in-law of Mûsa, and also Mûsa's own flocks had been placed when the latter was sent to rebuke Pharaoh. After mutual greetings, the shepherd, who had noticed that the Prophet was troubled, asked the reason, and, when told, laughed at his lord, and tried to persuade him to yield to the desire of the Angel of Death and give up the ghost. Now this vexed Mûsa greatly, 'Allah grant that thou mayest never die, but perpetually have charge of these goats,' said he to the shepherd. Full of joy at the supposed blessing, which, however, was in reality a curse, the latter answered 'Amen.' When the time came when in the ordinary course of nature he would have died, he sickened and became unconscious. Thinking him dead, the Banu Israel buried him near the grave of Neby Mûsa, and there his tomb is pointed out to this day. But he is not dead. He still wanders about amongst the hills on each side of the Ghor from Wâdy Mûsa to Ṭabarîya, pasturing the *beden* (ibex). He flees from the approach of men, but, nevertheless, he has been frequently seen. His appearance

is that of a decrepit and aged old man covered with white hair. Some of those who have seen him have supposed him to be El-Khudr, on whom be peace, but verily this is a mistake."

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## "THE STRANGE FINDING OUT OF MOSES HIS TOMBE."

(*Concluded from p.* 148.)

THE Jesuits conceived, that before the Pilgrims and father Guardian could return to Jerusalem, to give notice of what had passed, which could not be till the night following, and that the Sanziack not knowing who had committed this insolency, nor much caring, it being but upon a company of Gowers or misbelievers, as they call Christians, they made no doubt, but that they might be ship'd out of their reach, before they could be met with; wherefore letting their Mules and horses of the Druses to graze upon the fragrant hearbes of that little valley, they betook themselves to pluck down the entrance into the Sepulchre which was easier to be pull'd down, then to be made up. But see how their Ship did sink, even in the entrance of the harbour. For the Jesuits had brought with them from Constantinople an old Janizarie called Ibrahim, who had served them many years faithfully, without the company of one of which there is no travailing in Turkey. This man they had sounded a farr off, to try if they could make him of their plot.

But he not willing in his old age to leave his Country, religion, wife, and children, they desisted. This and daily the words which he heard from the mouths of those French Gentlemen and Merchants who being in the plot, were too lavish of their tongues before him, who by reason of his long conversation amongst the French, understood more of their language, then they were aware of. This with other matters of the like nature, made him strongly to suspect the design. And thereupon acquainted the Sanziack of Jerusalem therewith, faining himself also ill at ease, to the end he might not be invited to that journey. The Sanziach perceiving that Ibrahim was not able to make it out, and yet doubting the worst, being of a more subtle braine then Turks ordinarily are (he being in truth a Renegado Christian, a notable knave, and a Scottish-man borne; his right name being Sande Murrey, but upon his circumcision he called himself Ram Dam) he gave notice of his feares to Nazuffe the Sanziack of Saphetta, who was also a Renegado of Hungary, and as cunning a knave as himself, advising him that he should give notice hereof to certain troupes of Spahees who lay grassing of their horses on the other side of Jordane untill they received orders from Morat, Bashaw of Damasco, to goe against the sonne of Ipsheer Bashaw,

the rebell Bashaw of Aleppo. The Captaine of these Spahees called Joffer-Aga, a good souldier, and the cunningest knave of all three, forthwith possest himself by his scouts of all the foords over Jordan, lying between the lake of Genazaret and the Dead sea. And having got notice of the Jesuits passage (though unknown to them) he leisurely followed with three hundred Spahees well armed with lances, swords, shields, bowes, arrowes, and pistols, being besides incomparably mounted upon Arabian horses, knowing the passages of the country, and most assured that they could not escape him.

In the meane time the Jesuits with the help of their company, had laboured so effectually in the opening of the cave, as even tyred and dropping with sweat they faintingly entered; being instantly revived and strengthned again by the odoriferous sent which they found therein, being far above all the perfumes, that ever any of them had before sented, finding the cave and monument to be every way answerable to the report. They began with strong wedges and leavers (which they brought purposely with them) to attempt the lifting up of the upper stone. Wherein Frier Juniper and Frier Ciprian more acquainted with such labour, then with saying of Masse, or preaching, wrought with great effect. Insomuch as having tried both ends, and one of the sides to no purpose, they putting their strength to the other side, it opened so easily, as if it had been done by its own accord. The reason of this they found after to be, that the coffin, the cover and the hinges which fastened them together, were all of one intire stone, unseparated from the rock which made the cave, without any supplement whatsoever. Then the Jesuits and their company, as men pleased and over-joyed, not onely with the more than Aromatick perfumes which issued out of it, but also with the desire of seeing so sacred a spectacle, falling upon their knees with great devotion with all the eyes and light they had, began to prie and spie into this sacred monument. But after they had looked it over and over ten times for failing, and put in their hands to search more nearly the bottom, they found in it just nothing; nay it was as clear as if it had been swept, washed, and rubbed, not an hour before their coming. The Jesuits and their company being much in their dumps for the losse of their labour, their money, their time, and indeed their reputation, began to think of a way, since they could not carry the body which was not to be found, yet how they might convey the tomb into France, and so into their Colledge. But when they had considered that it was not onely fixt to the naturall rock, or rather of one individual substance with it, and that besides they had brought no engine capable to carry over Jordan and the mountains of Judea so weighty a burden, they thought of breaking it in peeces, and of conveying it peece-meale that way. Whilest they were thus contriving of their businesse, they heard from without a hideous noise of horses and armes, intermixed with the voices of men, reiterating often these words [Alla-hem-derlo] which is as much in the Turkish language, as the Lord be praised, which

was the Spahees acclamations, when they found they had so happily surprised their prey. Hereat the Jesuits (as they had reason) conceived great feare, so did all their company; and frier Juniper, for all his name and the odoriferousnesse of the place, was not yet so sweet as he should be. In the midst of their feares two bold Spahees entred the cave, with their lances in the one hand, and bright Semiters in the other, with the butt-end of their lances they beat them all out of the cave, and as they issued out, they were stripped by the other Spahees to the very skin every man, being soundly beaten besides, and so brought to Joffer-Aga the Captain. In the mean time the Druses (having first lost their horses, and themselves not able to escape) submitted to mercy, and so being all bound two and two together, with their arms behind them, they were sent under conduct towards Saphetta, which is neer the lake of Genezaret, as well because that way lay the Spahees quarters, as for that it being neer to Damasco, they might the better receive orders from Morat Bashaw how to dispose of them. In the mean time, Joffer-Aga, with two onely entring the cave, with great reverence worshipped at the Sepulchre, thanking Almighty God that he had made him an instrument (though most unworthy) to serve him. And having closed again the Sepulchre, by softly letting the lid or cover of it to fall into the place where it seemed to be joynted, and causing divers great stones to be rolled against the entrance of the cave, he with the remainder of his horse followed his company. By noon the next day he overtook them, having gotten as far as Jordan, where giving to everyone of the prisoners a loaf of bread, he bad them drink of the river untill it was dry. And so departing to his tents with the greater number of his Spahees, carrying with him all the spoils of the Jesuits, he commanded the rest to convey them carefully unto the Sanzjacks of Saphetta, which they speedily put in execution: the case in less than 24 houres being much altered with the Jesuits, who the evening before did ride triumphantly over Jordan upon their mules, bravely guarded by their Druses; now they and their guards in bonds were forced to wade the flood, which yet passed not much their middle. And so they washed themselves per force in Jordan, which yet Frier Juniper had no more than need of.

The conclusion of all was for the present, that Morat Bashaw ordered the prisoners to be sent to the gallyes at Tripoly, in which as slaves at the oare they were to be conveyed to Constantinople there to receive such further punishment as the Grand Signior should appoint. The two Sanzjaks, Ram-dam of Jerusalem, and Zanzuffe of Saphetta, the first was preferred sub-Bashaw of Noha at the mouth of the red sea: the second, sub-Bashaw of Sues, at the bottome thereof; they never trusting a Christian Renegado in any part of Europe. Ibrahim the Janizary was sent for to Constantinople to be recompenced. And Joffer-Aga, Captain of the Spahees, advanced in military preferment, with promise to be made a Bashaw.

HOW THE JESUITS WERE USED AT CONSTANTINOPLE, AND OF THE GREAT QUESTION THAT DID ARISE THERE BY MEN OF ALL RELIGIONS, WHAT WAS BECOME OF THE BODY OF MOSES.

When newes came of these transactions to the port of the Grand Signior, the Jesuits were much condemned by all sorts of Religions. But the Jews took occasion hereupon to invey bitterly against the Christians above all measure, affirming they were the most treacherous thieves that ever lived in the world. Having whilest the Souldiers slept stoln out of the Sepulchre the body of Christ, and thereby made the second error worse then the first. That Alonso de Albuquerque vice-Roy of Goa, had a design to have defaced the Sepulchre of Mahomet at Medina Talnabi, and to have thrown his body into the red Sea, but was prevented by death. The like design had Ferdinando the Great, Duke of Tuscanie, to have forced the Sepulchre of Christ from Jerusalem, and to have placed it in his Chappel of Saint Lorenzo at Florence, but he dyed ere he could effect it. And now this late plot of the Jesuits in attempting to steale away the body of Moses, howsoever miraculously prevented, yet it argued the Christians to be a people not fit to be admitted into the Turkish Empire. The vulgar being much incensed by these and the like clamours, the French Embassador was necessitated to obscure himself for diverse dayes in the house of the Emperours, Embassadour. The French Consul of Rama shipped himselfe in the Bolane, appointed to attend the design, and sailed to Marselles, his Native country. The Padre Guardiano at Jerusalem and his convent were in great trouble by Ram-dam the Sanzjacke, untill Ibrahim the Janizarie had cleared them by the oath of a Muselman, that they had no hand in the businesse. The Druses were condemned to the Galleys for 120 yeares. The Gentlemen and Merchants for great summes of money, obtained so much favour as to be perpetually banished the Turkes dominions. The Jesuits were sent to the seven Towers, there to be put to some cruell death, their colledge to be rased, and their order never to return into Turkey again.

The great question then was amongst the learned of all Religions at Constantinople, what was become of the body of Moses. Some Dry-vines said it was there where it pleased God, which satisfied the question as little as if they had said nothing. Some Arabs Philosophers said it was evapored in fumo; but the Greeks argued out of Aristotle, that it was impossible in nature to reduce the whole earthy part of any man's body to nothing: nay they went so farre, as though they acknowledged that God had created all things of nothing, yet whether he could reduce all things to nothing againe, they humbly submitted to better judgements. They holding that as Creation was a worke of perfection, so destruction a worke of imperfection, whereof the Deity was not capable. The Jewes laughed at this dispute, and demonstrated out of Rabbi David Kimche, and out of Rabbi Salomon Ben Jack, that some thousands of yeares agoe, the Angels who were placed Guardians of Moses Sepulchre, were

furiously assaulted by a Devil named Asmandeus and his wicked Angels, insomuch as Moses body was taken from that place and carried God knowes whither; whereupon being asked by the Christians, which side got the victory? they answered they could not tell. And being farther demanded, why then did they labour so much to be Guardians of the place where his body was supposed to lye? they answered, for the same reasons which mov'd the Christians to be Guardians of the Sepulchre of Christ, wherein it was against their faith to believe that his body had at the present any residence. Against this the Christians of the Latin Church alledged the nineth verse of St. Jude's Ep. whose words are [Yet Michael the Angel, when contending with the Divel, he disputed with the Divel about the body of Moses, durst not bring against him a railing accusation, but said the Lord rebuke thee.] Out of which and the twelfth of the Revelation, verse the seventh, [And there was warres in heaven, Michael and his Angels fought against the Dragon, and the Dragon fought and his Angels, and prevailed not.] They did conclude that the Divel did not carry away the body of Moses, but that the Angels of God had still the tuition thereof, yet where they did not know. But the Grecian, Armenian, Coptie, Abissine, Jacobin, Georgian, Maronite and Nestorian Christians did wholly oppose this Allegation, with whom joyned many Lutherans residing at Constantinople, denying the Epistle of St. Jude to be Canonicall, but more especially venting their spleenes against the Revelation of S. John, saying that it was none of his, full of obscurity, void of reason, and the title forged; that the Author of it was Cerinthus the Heretick; and neither of them were allowed to be Canonicall, untill the Council of Carthage, which was wholly subservient to the Papacy three or four hundred yeares after Christ, being both of them before that time not onely disputed against, but wholly gainsaid. These differences did no wayes clear, but rather obscure the question, in as much as the Mufty to try all parties, desired to know the opinions of the Protestant Divines, viz., the Dutch and the English. But the Dutch, whether to save charges, or that they thought it needlesse, and perhaps dangerous, maintained no Divines amongst them; the English excused themselves as a point they had not at all studied, nor ever found in their books, and therefore referred themselves to the Assembly of Divines in England.

The question rested not so, for Nazuffe, coming to Constantinople to be invested in his new government of Sues, brought with him a book written by one Jeconius Ben-Gad, a learned Rabbi, dwelling at Saphetta, which is an University of the Jewes, wherein he did maintaine, that this Tombe was not the Tombe of Moses, who delivered Israel, but of another Moses very famous for his piety, who lived, according to the Jewes computation, many hundred yeares after him. To make good his assertion, he maintained it to be most unbeseeming the wisdome of God to hide the body of Moses, and yet to write his name upon his Sepulchre; besides, the Inscription being written in Hebrew characters, argued it to

be of a farre later date; for it is well known to the learned that the Jewes, Samaritans, and Canaanites had anciently no other Character but the Phoenician untill the Jewes used the Hebrew Character, which was invented by Esdras after the Captivity. And for the late miraculous opening of an entrance into this valley, not formerly known, that proceeded from the ignorance of the Goat-herds and the Maronite Patriarch, who being Christians do little understand the Topography of the Land of Promise. But the learned Jewes know this to be an ancient valley, called formerly Hamagiddo of farre greater extent than at this present, and that not foure hundred yeares past, it was almost wholly devoured by an Earthquake. That there was no body found in the Sepulchre was no wonder, seeing the Christians, upon their conquest of the Holy Land by Godfrey of Bulloigne, left no Tombe or Monument of the dead unsearched for treasure, commonly making havock and Sacriledge of the dead bones, leaving empty Sepulchres. That they had attempted the breaking up of Davids Tomb, upon great confidence of finding therein an inestimable treasure; but were miraculously prevented by fire which issued out of it. Nay, their unsatiated covetousnesse was such as they would not have spared the holy Sepulchre (as they call it) of their Saviour Christ, had they not conceived that, by reason of his poverty, there could nothing of value be buried with him; for the strange fastning of the upper stone to the nether, as hath formerly beene expressed, it will appeare to be no miracle when it shall be remembred how usuall it was anciently amongst the Jewes so to do, and the Sepulchres of the Kings of Judea, yet remaining neere Jerusalem to this day testifie as much. As for the odoriferousness of the place, it will be no wonder, when the sweet-smelling Gummes and Aromatick Spices of wonderfull price, wherewith anciently they did intombe their dead, shall be called to minde. Neither could it in the last place savour of any thing but of infinite impiety, to conceive that the arm of the great God of Israel should in these last times be so weakened as he could not defend the body of his servant from an Earthquake, or keep from vulgar eyes his unserutable secrets. This book, though written (after the Jewish manner) with much bitternesse against the Christians, did give exceeding satisfaction. So it is thought this business hath received its full period.

FINIS.

# DEAD SEA OBSERVATIONS.

(*Continued.*)

By Dr. E. W. Gurney Masterman.

In future the visits to *'Ain Feshkhah*, with the object of observing the level of the Dead Sea, are to be made twice a year. April and November have been shown by the past observations to be the months when the highest and lowest levels are reached respectively, so the visits will be made during these months.

## Spring Visit to 'Ain Feshkhah, 1904.

Visit made April 12th, 1904, in company with Professor G. A. Smith. We left Jerusalem April 11th, about 3 p.m., and rode to Mar Sâba, which we reached in about two and a half hours. We left next morning (April 12th) about 8 a.m. and went to *'Ain Feshkhah*, *viâ* the neighbourhood of *Khurbet Mird*, *Bir el-Fûs*, *El-Buḳa'a*, and the steep descent known as *Nakb 'Ain Feshkhah*. We reached our destination about noon: left again at 3 p.m., and rode to Jericho by the usual route along the west side of the Jordan Valley, passing *Khurbet Ḳumrân*, *Ḥajar el-Aṣbaḥ*, and *Wâdy Dabr*. Reached our camp in Jericho a little before 6 p.m.

*Weather.*—There had been a strong north-west wind and some rain in Jerusalem on the morning of the 11th: we experienced occasional puffs of the former in the winding valleys going to Mar Sâba, and quite a considerable north-west breeze fluttered our tent for the first half of the night. After that the wind dropped. In the early morning there was still a slight breeze from the west, but it soon changed to south-east, with at first uncertain and irregular puffs from the north-east, never strong.

About sunset a strong breeze from the north set in.

Atmosphere exceedingly clear after the south-east wind became established—all the mountains to the east stood out very distinctly.

Surface of the sea almost smooth—small, low, unbroken waves.

About 8.30. a.m. an irregular white line—brightly illuminated by the sun—could be seen near the east shore. When we came to the *Nakb 'Ain Feshkhah* about 11.30, where we had a wonderful view over the sea, the surface near the west shore was marked by a number of irregular white lines. One, rather ill-defined and very curved, extended down the lake some distance, perhaps half a mile, from the west shore. This was then being blown in-shore, and at 3, when we left, no "white line" at all was visible.

*State of Level.*—A *rise* of 8 inches at both the Observation Rock and at the rock in the Pool. Height of water at latter spot 2 feet 10 inches. *The rise for the whole rainy season* 1903–4 *is thus only* 8 *inches.*

*Barometric Observations.*—April 11th, 3 p.m., Jerusalem, 27·86; 6 p.m., camp just above Mar Saba, 29·7. April 12th, 6 a.m., Mar Sâba Camp, 29·77; 12.30 p.m., 'Ain Feshkhah, 31·74; 10 p.m., Jericho, 31·41. April 13th, 6.30 a.m., "Samaritan's Inn," 29·87; 10.30 p.m., Jerusalem, 28.

*Observations on Mercury Barometer in Jerusalem for purposes of comparison at 9 a.m.*—April 11th, 27·486; April 12th, 27·624; April 13th, 27·686.

*Thermometer, April 12th.*—Temperature of air at *'Ain Feshkhah* at 12.30, 74° F.; temperature of water of spring, 79°. Jericho at 6.30 p.m., 64°.

*General Observations.*—A good many Bedawin encampments in the *Buḳa'a*, and a number of armed Arabs appeared just as we were about to descend from the mountains bounding that plateau on the east. Also some peered down at us over the cliffs above the *Nakb 'Ain Feshkhah*. On that descent, not far above the 'Ain, we passed a large flock of sheep and goats which had apparently been washed in the Pool. About a dozen Bedawin, men and boys, were attending them. Of animal life we saw about half-a-dozen ibexes silhouetted against the sky upon the cliffs near *Ḥajar el-Aṣbaḥ*, and a gazelle just after we passed the *Wâdy Dabr*. Partridges, hawks, and many small birds as usual, and storks on the higher ground near Jerusalem.

Two weeks before I had encountered enormous flights of locusts all round the Lake of Galilee, but at this time there were none to be seen in the Jericho plain or anywhere on our route.

The common succulent shrubs in the Jordan Valley were very green and fresh.

The flow of water in the highest part of the 'Ain Feshkhah springs was rather scanty, and there was no water at all crossing the road from the *Haish el-Muḳdâm*. There was no water at all in the *Wâdy Kelt* near Jericho, and I was informed there had been none at all this season. It is evident the springs this year are low: the rainfall registered in Jerusalem is only 20·32 inches, one-fifth less than last year, and the Dead Sea level is evidently falling in consequence. The contrast between the rise of 25·5 inches during the winter 1902–3 and the rise of only 8 in. this season is very remarkable.

## NOTICES OF FOREIGN PUBLICATIONS.

*Revue de l'Orient Latin*, vol. ix, Nos. 3, 4, 1902.—(1) Mons. C. Kohler publishes the text of the *Libellus de Locis Ultramarinis*, written by the Dominican Father Pierre "de Pennis," with a critical examination of its contents. Father Pierre belonged to the small Calabrian town of Penna, and was probably born about 1325 A.D. The book is largely a compilation from the *Historia Hierosolymitana* of Jacques de Vitry, and from a *Compendium Terrae Sanctae*, or official guide for pilgrims to the Holy Land. M. Kohler is inclined to believe that Pierre never visited Palestine. (2) Mons. Hagenmeyer, in continuation of his very valuable chronological history of the First Crusade, commences a *Chronologie de l'histoire du royaume de Jérusalem*, which promises, if possible, to be even more interesting and important. The present instalment (73 pages) covers the period from the coronation of Baldwin I on December 25th, 1100, to the end of September, 1101. The chronicle of the events of each day is followed by a statement of the sources from which the information is derived, and by various comments. It is thus possible for anyone to verify the dates and entries of M. Hagenmeyer. Under the date April 21st, 1101 (Easter Eve), we read that, in consequence of the non-appearance of the "holy fire," the Patriarch of Jerusalem ordered a solemn procession to be made from the Church of the Holy Sepulchre to the Templum Domini (Dome of the Rock). In this procession, which resulted in the appearance of the fire, the King, the Patriarch, the Papal Legate, the clergy, and the people of the Holy City took part. (3) Mons. E. Blochet continues his translation of Makrizi's *History of Egypt* with historical and geographical notes that leave little to be desired. The section deals with the period from A.H. 615 to A.H. 626, the year in which el-Melik el-'Âdel was succeeded by el-Melik el-Kâmel.

*Revue Biblique*, 1904, No. 2.—In *La Crypte de Sainte Anne à Jérusalem*, Father Vincent of the Dominican Convent of St. Stephen, describes in detail, with plan and sections, the new crypt in the Church of St. Anne. In 1889 the "White Fathers," who are domiciled in the Convent of St. Anne, discovered an underground chamber close to the crypt in which the Virgin is said to have been born. The chamber was shown at once to those interested in such discoveries, but before it could be opened to the public the place had to be cleared of rubbish, and foundations had to be put in to secure the church above from any risk of injury. Since the autumn of 1902 the chamber has been a sort of annexe to the old crypt. Father Cré of St. Anne's is of opinion that the chamber is the tomb of Joachim and Anna. M. Mauss, the distinguished architect, who restored the church after it was given to the French Emperor by the Sultan, has denounced the whole discovery as a fraud, and his view has been adopted by Dr. Benzinger. The discovery has

also been fiercely attacked by Father Barnabé d'Alsace, a Franciscan. Father Vincent maintains that the crypt restored by M. Mauss was only a portion of the primitive crypt, and that the chamber discovered by the White Fathers is part of the same excavation, altered, filled up, and lost to view at some unknown period. As the opinion that the new crypt is ancient is supported by two such competent authorities as F. Germer-Durand and F. Vincent there can be little doubt as to its accuracy. (2) *Un Papyrus Hébreu pré-Massorétique* is a discussion of a papyrus containing the decalogue which was published by Mr. Stanley A. Cook in the *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archæology*, January, 1903, and of the comments upon it by Cook, Burkitt, Von Gall, and Lévy. The writer generally agrees with Mr. Cook's views. (3) The *Chronique* contains a letter from Father Cré describing the discovery of an interesting epitaph in the ground above the "tomb of the Prophets" on the Mount of Olives. The epitaph is that of a certain deaconess, named Sophia, who is referred to as the "second Phœbe," in allusion to the Phœbe recommended by St. Paul to the faithful at Rome. A critical examination of the inscription has been published by M. Clermont-Ganneau in his *Recueil* (vi, § 17). There is also a description of new acquisitions, Jewish ossuaries, Roman tiles, seals, &c., in the Museum of the White Fathers. Amongst the ossuaries is one with the Hebrew inscription "Eleazar and his Wife"—an instance, of which others are known, of a Jewish couple being thus united in death. Some new inscriptions from Beersheba are also noticed.

*Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins*, vol. xxvii, parts 2, 3. (1) Dr. Schwöbel concludes his excellent and exhaustive monograph on the lines of communication and inhabited places of Galilee, with special reference to their dependence upon natural conditions. Chap. 3 deals with the roads, and chap. 4 with the inhabited places. In both attention is drawn to the influence exercised by the physical features of the country. (2) A paper by Dr. Nestle on the derivation and meaning of the name Jerusalem.

In *Mitt. und Nachrichten des D.P.V.*, 1903, Nos. 3–5, Dr. Max van Berchem discusses Arabic inscriptions from Palestine. Those from Mount Tabor which relate to the fortifications and other buildings erected by order of el-Melik el-'Âdel, and his son el-Melik el-Mu'azzem 'Îsâ, during the peace of 1211–1217 A.D., are of great interest. Equally interesting is the long inscription, dated May 1277 A.D., which records the construction of a new shrine over the tomb of Abu 'Obeidah, in the Jordan Valley, by order of Sultan Beibars, and the grant by the same Sultan of lands, in the district of Homs, for its maintenance. Other inscriptions come from Ajlûn and places east of Jordan.

*Sinaï Ma'ân Pétra*, by Adélaïde Sargenton-Galichon, Paris, 1904.—In this little book, illustrated by her own photographs, the authoress describes a journey which she made with the "Caravan Biblique" from

Suez, through the desert of Sinai, Edom, and Moab, to Jerusalem. The caravan was under the very competent direction of Father Jaussen, one of the highest authorities on the life, manners, and customs of the Bedawin east of Jordan. A full description of the important route from 'Akabah to Ma'ân has appeared in the *Revue Biblique* for 1903 (*Quarterly Statement*, 1903, p. 182): but this does not detract from the pleasant freshness of Madame Galichon's record of the journey. A charming prefatory letter in which the veteran explorer, Comte de Vogüé, expresses his warm appreciation of the courage and literary talent of the authoress is a pleasant feature of the book.

*Auf Heiligen Spuren—abseits vom Wege*, by Pfarrer Arnold Rügg, Zürich, 1904.—A record by a Swiss clergyman of a tour in Palestine, which included a visit to Mount Nebo, Medeba, and Machærus. These places are described at length, and the book is illustrated with numerous photographs taken by the author. The concluding portion of the work is a description of an excursion from Smyrna to Ephesus, Hierapolis, and Laodicea.

*Altneuland*, 1904.—No. 4 contains an interesting paper, by Dr. O. Warburg, on the Jewish colonisation of Palestine, from which it appears that there are now 27 Jewish villages with a population of 5,200, and that land has been purchased for new colonies. The chief industries are connected with the cultivation of vines, oranges, olives, and cereals. Great benefit has been derived from the plantation of eucalyptus (*E. resinifera*); in one colony alone 300,000 trees have been planted. There is also a paper on the Druses by Dr. A. Biram. In No. 5 there are papers on systematic and unsystematic colonisation, by Dr. S. Soskin; and on the taxes and rates levied by the Turkish Government in Palestine. Both numbers supply local notes on the various Jewish colonies.

C. W. W.

*Recueil d'Archéologie Orientale*, t. vi, parts 6–12.—In § 12 Professor Clermont-Ganneau gives some account of a newly edited Samaritan chronicle, with a critical examination of some obscure readings; the work in question was recently found at Nablûs by Mr. Elkan-Nathan Adler, and was published at the close of last year by that gentleman and by M. Seligsohn. § 13 is devoted to a discussion of certain lexical difficulties in the Siloam inscription. § 16 deals with Dom Férotin's dissertation on the *Peregrinatio Siloiæ*, and is a careful enquiry upon the chronological details. In §§ 18 and 19 Professor Ganneau deals with the Oxford Aramaic fragments recently edited by the Society of Biblical Archæology and with the new Phœnician inscription from the Temple of Eshmûn at Sidon. Greek inscriptions from Palestine, edited by Professor Dalman, are discussed in § 20. Altogether, the contents of these parts are rich in epigraphical information, and on every page there are evidences of the author's brilliant research and suggestive hints.

*Notes de Mythologie Syrienne*, by René Dussaud, is too technical a work to require any detailed notice in these pages. It should be carefully read by students of classical and Oriental mythology, and indeed to all who are interested in Palestinian archæology these "Notes" will be welcome in the extreme. In them M. Dussaud discusses the symbols and various representations of the solar god; in particular the position of Azizos and Monimos in Syrian cult, and the general state of solar worship in ancient Palmyra.

*Mission dans les régions désertiques de la Syrie Moyenne*, by René Dussaud and Frédéric Macler. This important volume contains the results of an archæological expedition undertaken in 1901 in the districts of Ṣafâ (to the south-east of Damascus) and the Ḥarra. In a former journey in 1899 valuable information was obtained, and the discovery and publication of a number of "Ṣafâ" inscriptions gave fresh impetus to the decipherment and study of this difficult branch of Semitic epigraphy. The present volume contains the account of the tour in the country lying between Damascus and Ṣalkhad, with excellent photographs of typical sites, an itinerary, and a careful study of the religion and mythology of the old inhabitants. No fewer than 901 of the Ṣafâitic inscriptions —all short ones—are published. The Greek and Latin inscriptions number 180, the Nabatæan 25, and the Arabic 33. To each division is appended a complete glossary, and it will be easily understood that the whole work provides an excellent store of material for future study. One inscription in particular, from En-Nemâra, is in Nabatæan-Arabic; the writing is Nabatæan, and the language Arabic with pure Aramaisms. It is the tomb inscription of Imrau'lḳais, "King of all the Arabs," and is dated in the year 223; this being the era of Bostra, the date corresponds to 328 A.D. It is no exaggeration to say that it is one of the most important monuments in Semitic epigraphy, and MM. Dussaud and Macler are to be congratulated on its discovery.

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## NOTES AND QUERIES.

1. *Inscription at Janiah.*—Professor Clermont-Ganneau has written to propose a different reconstruction of the Greek inscription published in the April number (p. 181):—

Μνή[σθητι τοῦ ἰοὐλο]
υ σου Ηροκο[πίου
κ(αὶ) Ἰωά(ν)νου.

This is supported, as he points out, by the copy of the original which, in response to a request, Dr. Peters courteously sent.

2. *Rock Sculptures at Lebanon.*—The two accompanying photographs (Figs. 1 and 2) were taken by Mrs. Howie, who found the

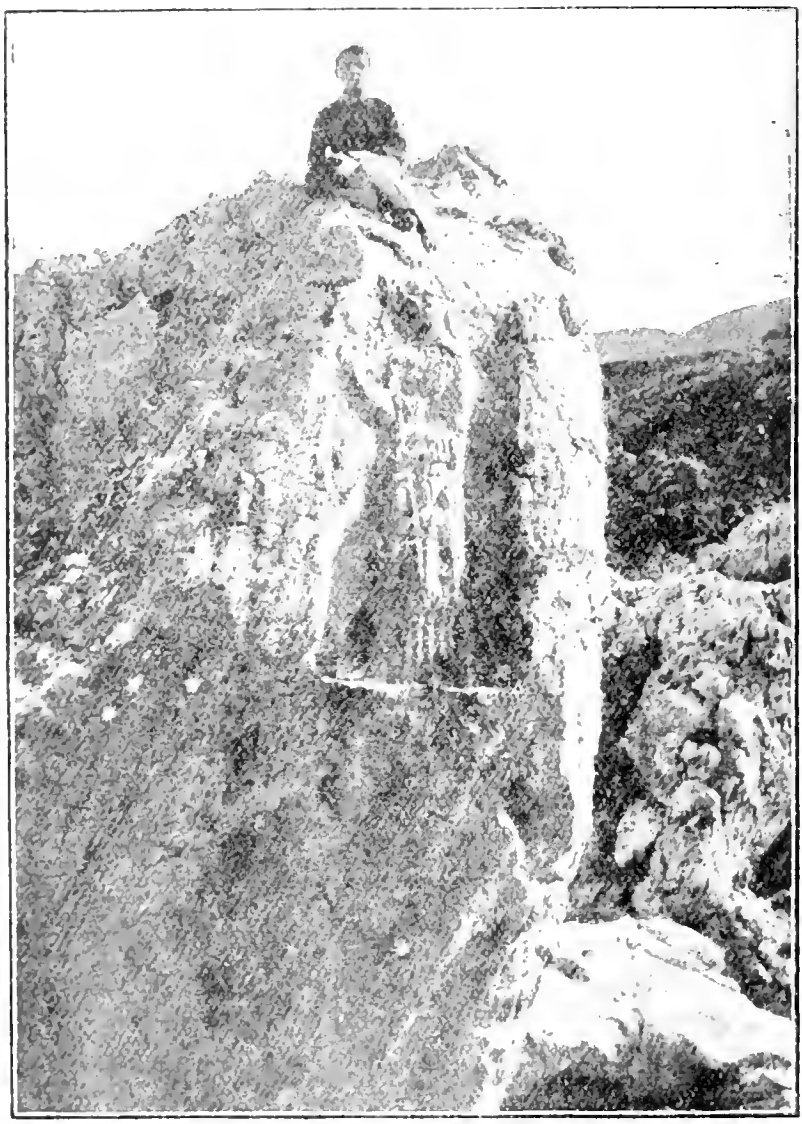

Fig. 1.—In a gorge close to the Plain of Cœle Syria.

sculptures represented in them whilst travelling between Sûḳ Wâdy Barâda and Baalbek collecting materials for her book, *Pen Pictures of Palestine and its People.* That representing a bull accompanied

by two (?) heifers with what seems to be a lion on its back (Fig. 2) is engraved on the rocks high up in the mountains near 'Ain el-Ghaddâ, the other is in a gorge on the edge of the plain of Cœle-Syria. Both are not far from the village of Ka'b Elias, which lies about the middle of the eastern base of Mount Lebanon. In addition to the photographs, Mrs. Howie made a drawing of the

FIG. 2.—High up in the mountain near 'Ain el-Ghaddâ.

'Ain el-Ghaddâ bas-relief. The figure of the goddess is in the Greek style.

PROFESSOR SAYCE.

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3. *A newly-discovered Hebrew Seal.*—In the course of his excavations at Tell Mutsellim Dr. Schumacher discovered an old Hebrew seal, a reproduction of which we are able to furnish to the readers of the *Quarterly Statement* through the kindness of our esteemed correspondent, Dr. A. N. Baroody, of Beirût. In *Al-Mashrik* (May 15th) Professor Cheikho contributes an account of this new "find," but pending the full description, which will be published by the German Palestine Society, the following independent remarks upon the seal may perhaps be of some interest. It is understood

that the seal was sent to the Turkish Governor of Beirût to be presented to the Sultan, and it was on this occasion that Dr. Baroody was able to take the photographs which are here reproduced (Fig. 3). The seal, it will be noticed, is oval in shape, the smaller of the two reproductions is the exact size of the original, and our correspondent has written upon them a title and transliteration in Arabic characters.

Fig. 3.—The "Lion-Seal."

The legend reads :

לשמע
עבד ירבעם

"To Shama, the servant of Jeroboam.'

The first name may be pronounced Shâmâ' (*cp.* 1 Chron. xi, 44), Shemá', or the like ; it is obviously associated with the root from

which the Biblical Shim'â, Shim'î, Shim'ôn, and Shema'yâhû are derived. Greater interest is naturally attached to the second name, which *as a name*, at all events, is no doubt identical with that of the two kings of the northern kingdom. It probably means "the clan (or people) increaseth," and thus finds a parallel in the rival name Rehoboam, "the clan is spacious (enlarged)."[1]

Other seals bearing representations of lions are not unknown. In one example (that of אחניה), the lion faces the left as here; in four it faces the right,[2] viz., the seals of רפתי, עשנאל, גדרם (?) and סרע.[3] In no case does the lion resemble the Assyrian representation of the king of beasts. The seal of רפתי comes from Khorsabad, and, from the circumstances under which it was found, has been ascribed to the time of Sargon (722–705 B.C.).[4] The dates of the remaining four can scarcely be determined either from the palaeography or from the character of the names themselves. In the case of the seal now under discussion, the occurrence of the name Jeroboam has been held by some to be a decisive indication of its date. Indeed, it was not unnatural that one's thought should go at once to the first king of Israel (*circ.* 930 B.C.) or to the son of Joash (782–743 B.C.). A little reflection, however, will show that the identification must not be hurriedly made. We know so little of the internal history of the Israelite monarchy that we can scarcely believe that the name Jeroboam was borne by only *two* individuals. Further, if Jeroboam I is meant, we should have the oldest specimen of North Semitic writing, considerably older than the Moabite stone and the Phoenician "Baal-Lebanon" inscription,[5] and this is not borne out by the palaeography of the seal. Even if we have to do with Jeroboam II the seal would have a respectable antiquity, holding a proud position as (probably) the oldest specimen of Hebrew.

[1] *Cp.* the play upon the name in Ecclesiasticus xlvii, 23: "Rehoboam (רחבעם), spacious (רחב) in folly, but lacking in understanding.

[2] All these are reproduced in Prof. Cheikho's article in *Al-Mashrik*.

[3] On the last two seals, *see* Clermont-Ganneau, *Rec. d'Arch. Orient*, iii, § 35; Lidzbarski, *Ephemeris*, i, pp. 11, 15. The third is possibly 'Asânî-êl (God made me?), the pronunciation of the others is quite obscure.

[4] *C.I.S.*, ii, 51. Along with it was found the seal of 'Abd-baal (עבדבעל). It has been conjectured that the seals are those of captives from the Mediterranean coast.

[5] It is highly probable that the Hiram of this inscription is not the contemporary of David and Solomon, but Hiram (II) who is mentioned by Tiglath-Pileser III (738 B.C.).

Again, if the seal refers to Jeroboam the king, we might have expected to find some such title as "the King" (המלך) or "King of Israel" (מלך ישראל) appended; although, on the other hand, it might very justly be contended that in the case of so well known a figure as the reigning monarch, no additional title would be considered necessary. If so, bearing in mind the usual view that the somewhat similar seal of רבתי belongs to the close of the eighth century, it is not impossible that Jeroboam II and no other is meant.

In support of this conjecture there is another piece of evidence which, slight though it is, is of a sufficiently interesting character to be mentioned. It is only quite recently that we have become acquainted with another seal (Fig. 4), *also* belonging to שמע, upon which he is styled "servant of the King" (עבד המלך).[1] It is true the name שמע occurs once again upon a seal published by

FIG. 4.—Seal of Shama', "servant of the king."

Professor Ganneau, and it is admittedly of a common enough stamp, but everyone will acknowledge that it is at least a coincidence that we should have two seals:—

"To Shama', servant of the king."
"To Shama', servant of Jeroboam."

The mention of "Jeroboam" alone, if the King is meant, would be unambiguous; and the designation of "the King" by itself may be considered sufficient, and thus the two appear to be complementary.

Obviously, this argument is not altogether valid, and by many the second seal (which has the characteristic double line of Israelite seals) will be viewed as a coincidence and nothing more. A comparison of the two seals,[2] it is true, clearly shows marked differences in the forms assumed by certain letters (*e.g.*, ע, מ and ש), but one cannot feel convinced that this is enough to prove that

[1] Vincent, *Revue Biblique*, 1903, p. 605.

[2] *Cp.* also the representation given by Clermont-Ganneau in his *Rec. d'Arch. Orient.* vi, 1904, p. 114, from which the above cut is reproduced.

they are not contemporary. Our knowledge of the vicissitudes of Hebrew writing is unfortunately so extremely limited that a dogmatic statement one way or the other would be rash. At all events, a scrutiny of the Hebrew or Israelite seals that are known to us supports the view that two styles of script were in use side by side, one resembling that of the Moabite stone and old Phœnician seals, the other more akin to the forms on the Siloam inscription, the date of which (as we must constantly remind ourselves) is quite uncertain. For the present, therefore, the safest course is to abstain from undue speculation, and, without taking into account the second seal, simply state that the seal which Dr. Schumacher has been fortunate enough to find *may* be that of an officer of the warlike Jeroboam II, son of Joash, the fourth of the line of Jehu and King of Israel (782–743 B.C.). Whether, in this case, Shama (or whatever be his name) was appointed Governor of Megiddo, as has been suggested, is another question which must be left unanswered. It is one upon which further excavation may throw light.

S. A. Cook.

## TRANSLITERATION OF THE HEBREW AND ARABIC CONSONANTS.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| א | ' or at beginning of word omit. | כ | k (*or* kh). |
| | | ל | l. |
| ב | b. | מ | m. |
| ב | b (*or* bh). | נ | n. |
| ג | g. | ס | s. |
| ג | g (*or* gh). | ע | '. |
| ד | d. | פ | p. |
| ד | d (*or* dh). | פ | p (*or* ph) |
| ה | h. | צ | ṣ. |
| ו | w, v. | ק | ḳ (*or* q). |
| ז | z. | ר | r. |
| ח | ḥ (never h). | ש | s (*or* ś). |
| ט | ṭ. | ש | sh (*or* š). |
| י | y. | ת | t. |
| כ | k. | ת | t (*or* th). |

---

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| ا | ' or at beginning of word omit. | ص | ṣ. |
| | | ض | ḍ. |
| ب | b. | ط | ṭ. |
| ت | t. | ظ | ẓ. |
| ث | th. | ع | '. |
| ج | j (*or* ǵ). | غ | gh (*or* ġ). |
| ح | ḥ. | ف | f. |
| خ | kh (*or* ḫ). | ق | ḳ (*or* q). |
| د | d. | ك | k. |
| ذ | dh. | ل | l. |
| ر | r. | م | m. |
| ز | z. | ن | n. |
| س | s. | ه | h. |
| ش | sh (*or* š). | و | w. |
| | | ي | y. |

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THE

# PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND.

## NOTES AND NEWS.

THE Committee desire to appeal very earnestly to subscribers and their friends to assist them in completing the Excavations of Gezer thoroughly. The extension of time now granted by the Sultan would make this possible; but only if the force of workpeople can be increased, for which more money is necessary. *Special donations* are invited. An additional £1,000 is required.

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The Ninth Quarterly Report throws interesting light upon the burial-customs of the old Gezerites. The Crematorium of the Troglodytes and the secondary interments that it contained revealed to us the methods of sepulture among the Pre-Semitic and Earliest Semitic occupants of the site. We now follow up this discovery with tombs of the Canaanite and Maccabean periods, and an unlooked-for but extensive Early Christian cemetery, dating about the beginning of the fourth century A.D. This last series, Mr. Macalister writes, no doubt belongs to the early settlers on the site of the modern village, for, as has several times been remarked in previous Reports, no remains so late are to be found in the débris of the *tell* itself. It may therefore be claimed for the excavation of Gezer, that for the first time in the course of Palestinian exploration the burial customs of every age of a city's history have been determined. It cannot be said, however, that the burial customs of the various races that inhabited Palestine have been completely systematised. Mr. Macalister not infrequently points out contrasts between observations made at Gezer and others made at Jerusalem and at Beit Jibrin the two districts with the tombs of which he happens to be most familiar, and

these differences show that it would be unsafe to argue from Gezerite burial customs to those of any other part of the country.

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The necessity for devoting a certain amount of time to the tombs was an urgent one. Tomb robbery has been and still is rampant everywhere. Tomb robbers, as Mr. Macalister observes, have flourished in the past and in our own generation a new element has been introduced which renders it all the more necessary to examine scientifically the cemeteries belonging to the mounds before the modern dealers or their agents can despoil them. Not the least serious part of this state of affairs lies in the absurd prices that the travellers—to say nothing of museums, which are in this respect just as grave offenders—are willing to pay. This puts an obstacle in the way of research, because it makes it necessary for a legitimate excavator to offer larger *bakhshish* as a reward for the objects found in excavation, and so adds considerably to the already very heavy expenses of such work. It is a melancholy fact that the man who will readily pay £10 to a dealer for what is, comparatively speaking, rubbish (if not actually a ridiculous forgery), rarely sees his way to subscribe 10*d.* in aid of an attempt to elucidate the history of the land of which he is so desirous for "souvenirs."

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Apropos of the above, Mr. Macalister utters a protest against the miserable mania for iridescent glass, which more than anything else is tempting the natives of Palestine to destroy the ancient tombs:—"I believe that a vendor can hardly find a market for a vase, be its shape never so unusual or graceful, unless its surface be coloured like the scum on a stagnant pool that contains decaying organic matter—an effect produced by the decomposition of the chemical constituents of the glass. On the other hand, if he be the happy possessor of a vase, perhaps inferior in every other respect, but highly coloured, he may often expect anything up to £10 or £12 for it, if not more. The reason for this absurdity is partly, no doubt, the beauty of the play of colours, which may be at once acknowledged (though to an archæologist it is a regrettable excrescence, for nothing was farther from the mind of the artist than this polychromatic accretion); but principally owing to a widespread delusion, entertained even by some who do not regard the iridescence as a 'lost art,' that the effect cannot be imitated by

modern forgers, and that therefore its presence is a sure evidence of the genuineness of the vessel displaying it. I need only say that I have seen a fragment of a whisky bottle, bearing stamped upon it the initials of a well-known American firm of distillers, which showed most delicate iridescence: the effect of contact with the sewage-laden soil of Silwân, where one of my friends picked it up. That this craze is of comparatively recently growth is shown by a story I have heard to the effect that about 20 years ago the fellahîn of Abû Shûsheh broke into a tomb expecting gold. None was found, but a large number of vessels in glass were ranged around the walls—so many, indeed, that they christened the tomb *el-hammîrah*, that is, 'the tavern.' Actuated by the childish spite which is a leading character of these villagers, they broke all the glass in their disappointment. Were such a discovery made now, it would be recognised as being at least as valuable as any deposit of gold likely to occur in a Palestinian tomb. I ought to add that I had the tomb pointed out to me, and reopened it in hopes of finding and refitting the fragments of glass, but only one small vase was forthcoming."

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When the excavation of Gezer is over there will be much to do in the way of systematising the great harvest of results that has accrued during the work. Dr. Sellin's report (*see* 388 below) shows that there are several points of similarity between the ancient culture of Gezer and Taanach, and, with this and other material, the archæological history of Palestine will stand out far clearer than ever it did before. One among many features of interest which will not fail to attract more notice is the cave described in the *Quarterly Statement* for January, 1903, which reminds one of the "chasm" at the temple of Hierapolis, referred to in the *De Dea Syria*, attributed to Lucian. Mr. W. Clarkson Wallis has also written to point out certain analogies with the Sakhra rock at Jerusalem, and the classical reader himself will readily supply parallels from Pausanias and elsewhere. Lack of space precludes further remarks upon the subject in the present number.

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We regret, too, that, through want of space, we have been compelled to hold over the conclusion of the article on "Personal Names," by Messrs. Macalister and Masterman, also the commencement of a

series of papers on the "Bedouin of the Sinaitic Peninsula," by Mr. W. E. Jennings-Bramley, and one of the unpublished reports by the late Dr. Schick, "A Discussion of the Birthplace of St. John the Baptist."

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The special donations to the expenses of the Excavation of Gezer comprise the following:—His Grace the Duke of Northumberland, K.G., £20; Rev. G. Greenwood, £10 10*s.* 0*d.*; Henry S. Noblett, Esq., £10; E. S. Morphew, Esq., £5 5*s.* 0*d.*; General A. C. Cooke, C.B., £5; Rev. J. Hewitson, £5; smaller amounts, £22 8*s.* 6*d.*, in all £78 3*s.* 6*d.*; bringing the total up to £759 11*s.* 2*d.*

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Professor Flinders Petrie writes pointing out that on Plate VI, fig. 22 (p. 226, line 35) of the July *Quarterly Statement*, the inscription reads *Men khefer Ra Sotep en Amen*, "approved of Amen." Page 227: These scarabs need not show "the intensity of the Egyptian domination," but may show that Egyptian motives were most popular when Syrians had power over Egypt under the Hyksos. *Ib.*, No scarab of Khyan has been found at Knossos but an alabaster lid of a jar.

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On the 1st August Mr. Dickson, His Majesty's Consul at Jerusalem, on his return from a visit to Bethlehem with Admiral Domvile, noticed that digging and building were going on in a field by the roadside near "Rachel's Tomb." On proceeding to the spot he found that about a dozen large sections of the stone syphon that formed part of the ancient high-level aqueduct from "Solomon's Pools" to Jerusalem had been unearthed and were lying about in their original position, only detached from one another. The next day the remains were visited by the Rev. J. E. Hanauer, who discovered two small inscriptions parly covered with cement. Photographs and squeezes were taken of the inscriptions and the stone tubes of the syphon, but unfortunately the squeezes have been so much damaged in transit to England as to be useless. Some previous inscriptions found on the syphon are described by M. Clermont-Ganneau in *Quarterly Statement*, 1901, p. 119.

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Mr. A. J. Kenward has communicated the following information respecting his successful attempt to find water near the railway

station at Jerusalem. The depth of the boring is 131 feet 8 inches, and water was reached at about 106 feet. After passing about 11 feet of red clay and rounded stones, the boring passed through beds of white and yellowish limestone, separated by thin layers of red and yellow clay, and occasionally a few pebbles and fine glass sand. The water at first stood in a 20-foot column but this has decreased during the dry season. When the water is pumped up, the bottom of the bore fills with pebbles and sand, which have to be cleared out.

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Our readers will find in the July number of *The Reliquary* a pleasantly-written and well-illustrated article on the ossuaries found in tombs in Palestine, by Miss Gladys Dickson, who discovered the important "Nicanor" inscription (*Quarterly Statement*, 1903, p. 326).

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Professor Sellin, who is now again at work at Taanach, has been fortunate enough to discover another cuneiform tablet partly well preserved and partly weathered. In the inscription some person is commanded to bring something from the city of Megiddo. The date is approximately that of the tablets found at Taanach last year.

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The observations made at Jaffa by the Rev. J. Jamal show that the rainfall at that place from the 30th October, 1903, to the 30th April, 1904, amounted to a little more than 15½ inches, being considerably less than the amount during the preceding winter season (*Quarterly Statement*, October, 1903, p. 280). In 44 days there fell as follows :—

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | day in October (on the 30th), 1903 | 0·12 | inches. |
| 7 | days in November, 1903 | 2·09 | ,, |
| 8 | ,, December, 1903 | 2·47 | ,, |
| 16 | ,, January, 1904 | 4·89 | ,, |
| 4 | ,, February, 1904 | 1·03 | ,, |
| 7 | ,, March, 1904 | 4·08 | ,, |
| 1 | day in April (on the 30th), 1904 | 0·96 | ,, |
| 44 | | 15·64 | |

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The Rev. J. E. Hanauer writes from Jerusalem that the Church of St. John (Greek) in the south-west corner of the Muristan, now

stands isolated, as all the rubbish outside the east end has been cleared away. A fair-sized modern window has been inserted at the east end, where the irregularity of the courses in the masonry, and the varying sizes of the stones, show that there have been several repairs or reconstructions at different periods.

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The large tree at the north-west corner of the Muristan, which was a prominent feature, has been cut down.

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Macridy Bey, of the Imperial Ottoman Museum at Constantinople, has been at Jerusalem to report on the feasibility of removing the fine Orpheus mosaic to the museum.

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The German Empress has recently purchased a large plot of land on the ridge of Olivet, between Sir John Gray Hill's house and the elevation known as *Viri Galilæi*, for the purpose of building a hospice, convalescent home, and chapel for the benefit of visitors to, and residents in, Jerusalem.

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The French are erecting a large building on the "Mount of Offence," just above Siloam.

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The Assumptionist Fathers of Notre Dame de France have recently erected a colossal statue of the Madonna on the roof of their buildings on the site of Tancred's camp. A smaller statue of Christ has for several years occupied a conspicuous place in a niche in the same building, and by the road side. These are the first statues erected at Jerusalem in full view of the Moslem population since Crusading times. At Bethlehem there is a large statue on the roof of one of the Latin convents.

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Four hundred and seventy-two kilomètres of the Damascus-Mecca Railway is now open for traffic.

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The monograph on *The Marissa Tombs* is now well advanced in the press. The proofs have received the final corrections of the authors, and the plates in illustration are so nearly finished that the Committee hope to be able to publish the work in a short time.

The circumstances under which the original photographs were taken—in subterranean darkness—have made their reproduction a work of unusual difficulty and care. The complete volume will conform in size and type with the other quarto publications of the Palestine Exploration Fund. There will be numerous full-page illustrations, many of them coloured, besides blocks with the text. The latter extends to about eighty pages.

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It may be well to mention that plans and photographs alluded to in the reports from Jerusalem and elsewhere cannot all be published, but they are preserved in the office of the Fund, where they may be seen by subscribers. Those sent by Mr. Macalister illustrating the excavations at Gezer which are not reproduced in his quarterly report are held over for the final memoir.

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A number of lectures are to be delivered in Scotland and the provinces on the Fund's excavations at Gezer, and it is hoped that where arrangements have not yet been made, subscribers and those interested in the work will communicate through the Local Secretary.

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The attention of subscribers is called to a work by Sir Charles Warren, entitled "The Ancient Cubit and our Weights and Measures." He brings evidence to show that all weights and measures (except those of the metrical system) are derived from one source—the double-cubit cubed of Babylonia.

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The Museum and Library of the Palestine Exploration Fund at Jerusalem are in the Bishop's Buildings, near the Tombs of the Kings, where the use of a room has been kindly permitted by the Rev. Dr. Blyth, Bishop in Jerusalem and the East. The Museum is open daily, except Sundays, and the Honorary Secretary, Dr. D'Erf Wheeler, will give all information necessary.

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The "Flora of Syria, Palestine, and Sinai," by the Rev. George E. Post, M.D., Beirût, Syria, containing descriptions of all the Phaenogams and Acrogens of the region, and illustrated by 141 woodcuts, may be had at the office of the Fund, price 21s.

The income of the Society from June 18th to September 19th, 1904, was—from Annual Subscriptions and Donations, including Local Societies, £189 15*s.* 8*d.*; from sales of publications, &c., £82 6*s.* 11*d.*; total, £272 2*s.* 7*d.* The expenditure during the same period was £503 14*s.* 6*d.* On September 19th the balance in the bank was £100 16*s.* 0*d.*

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Subscribers who have not yet paid their contributions for this year will much facilitate the Committee's efforts by sending their subscriptions, the outgoings on the excavations at Gezer being just now a heavy drain on their funds.

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Subscribers to the Fund are reminded that, whilst the receipt of every subscription and contribution is promptly acknowledged by the Acting Secretary, they will henceforth be published annually, and not quarterly. A complete List of Subscribers and Subscriptions for 1903 is published in a separate form.

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Subscribers in U.S.A. to the work of the Fund will please note that they can procure copies of any of the publications from the Rev. Professor Theo. F. Wright, Honorary General Secretary to the Fund, 42, Quincy Street, Cambridge, Mass.

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The Committee will be glad to communicate with ladies and gentlemen willing to help the Fund as Honorary Secretaries.

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The Acting Secretary has now completed a small photo-relief map of Palestine, on a scale of 10 miles to the inch. It has been made from the large raised map published in 1893, and contains all the principal biblical sites and their altitudes. All the chief topographical features are faithfully reproduced, and students of the Bible will find it an indispensable guide. Fuller particulars may be had on application to the office, where the map may be seen.

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Subscribers and others may be reminded that the new Raised Map of Palestine, constructed from the Surveys of the Palestine Exploration Fund, and other sources, by the Acting Secretary, is ready. It is on the scale of 6¼ miles to the inch, and measures 3′ 6″ × 2′ 6″. It has already been used with great success by Professors of Old Testament history, and by teachers in Sunday Schools, and may be especially recommended for large classes of students. Further particulars may be had on application.

A complete set of the *Quarterly Statements*, 1869–1904, containing the early letters, with an Index, 1869–1892, bound in the Palestine Exploration Fund cases, can be had. Price on application to the Acting Secretary, 38, Conduit Street, W.

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Subscribers of one guinea and upwards will please note that they can still obtain a set of the "Survey of Palestine," in four volumes, for £7 7*s.*, but the price has been increased to the public to £9 9*s.* The price of single volumes to the public has also been increased. Applications should be made to the Acting Secretary.

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The price of a complete set of the translations published by the Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society, in 13 volumes, with general index, bound in cloth, is £10 10*s.* A catalogue describing the contents of each volume can be had on application to the Secretary, 38, Conduit Street.

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The Museum at the office of the Fund, 38, Conduit Street (a few doors from Bond Street), is open to visitors every week-day from 10 o'clock till 5, except Saturdays, when it is closed at 2 p.m.

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Photographs of the late Dr. Schick's models (1) of the Temple of Solomon, (2) of the Herodian Temple, (3) of the Haram Area during the Christian occupation of Jerusalem, and (4) of the Haram Area as it is at present, have been received at the office of the Fund. Sets of these four photographs, with an explanation by Dr. Schick, can be purchased by applying to the Secretary, 38, Conduit Street, W.

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Branch Associations of the Bible Society, all Sunday Schools within the Sunday School Institute, the Sunday School Union, and the Wesleyan Sunday School Institute, will please observe that by a special Resolution of the Committee they will henceforth be treated as subscribers and be allowed to purchase the books and maps (by application only to the Secretary) at reduced price.

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The Committee acknowledge with thanks the following :—

"Die Provincia Arabia."—R. E. Brünnow.

"Tell Ta'annek Bericht über eine . . . . Ausgrabung in Palastina, nebst einem Anhange von Dr. Fr. Hrozný, Die Keilschrifttexte von Ta'annek."—Dr. Ernst Sellin.

"Bulln. de Corresp. Hellénique for 1903."—École Française d'Athènes.

*See* "Foreign Publications," p. 397 *sq.*, below.

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The Committee will be glad to receive donations of Books to the Library of the Fund, which already contains many works of great value relating to

Palestine and other Bible Lands. A catalogue of Books in the Library will be found in the July *Quarterly Statement*, 1893.

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For list of authorised lecturers and their subjects, write to the Secretary.

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Whilst desiring to give publicity to proposed identifications and other theories advanced by officers of the Fund and contributors to the pages of the *Quarterly Statement*, the Committee wish it to be distinctly understood that by publishing them in the *Quarterly Statement* they neither sanction nor adopt them.

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## Form of Bequest to the Palestine Exploration Fund.

I give to the Palestine Exploration Fund, London, the sum of _____ to be applied towards the General Work of the Fund; and I direct that the said sum be paid, free of Legacy Duty, and that the Receipt of the Treasurer of the Palestine Exploration Fund shall be a sufficient discharge to my Executors.

*Signature* _____

*Witnesses* { _____ _____ _____ }

Note.—*Three Witnesses are necessary in the United States of America; Two suffice in Great Britain.*

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It is with deep regret we learn at the moment of going to press that Thomas Chaplin, M.D., formerly of Jerusalem, and for many years a member of the Executive Committee, died at St. Leonards-on-Sea on September 20th, in his seventy-fourth year.

## ANNUAL MEETING.

THE Annual General Meeting was held on Wednesday, July 6th, 1904, at the Royal Institution, Albemarle Street, W., when the Chair was taken by His Grace the Duke of Northumberland, K.G., F.R.S.

The HON. SECRETARY.—I have to report that since the last *Quarterly Statement* was issued, 38 names have been added to the List of Subscribers, and that we have lost 23 in addition to the deaths of members announced in the Annual Report.

The CHAIRMAN.—I will ask Lord Amherst of Hackney to be good enough to move the first resolution.

Lord AMHERST.—My Lord, Ladies, and Gentlemen,—I have been asked to propose the first resolution, and this honour has been conferred upon me as being one of the old representatives of the General Committee. Time has passed very rapidly, and I can hardly believe, looking back, that it was as early as April, 1865, that we held our first meeting to raise funds for the exploration of the Holy Land and for a general survey of the country. Since that time there has been issued a large series of publications connected with the work that has been done. I am glad to say that the work has received general approval, and that we are continually receiving more funds to go on with it. But times have changed very much since 1865. The country was at that time open, and anybody who was willing to undertake work such as our Fund has done could do so. A *firman* was much more easily obtained then. I had one myself, and I thought that at some later date, as I could not devote much time to it then, I should perhaps be able to use it. But, alas! when the time came there was another Sultan who was not so friendly to exploration as his predecessors, and I was unable privately to obtain one. But as a public body we have from time to time obtained *firmans*, and we have one now for the excavation of Gezer, which will, I am sorry to say, expire in some 12 or 14 months' time. We would like to make a special appeal to our supporters, and ask them to circulate it as much as possible amongst their friends, in order that we might raise sufficient funds to make the best use possible of the *firman* that is now in our possession.

You will see in the Annual Report, and it will be explained to you during the course of this meeting, how much has already been done at Gezer, and what valuable information we have obtained. At the same time, there is plenty of room for more work there, and there are plenty of inviting mounds and sites for excavation. I must ask you to earnestly consider that we have this privilege and that it may be very difficult to obtain it again. It is sure to be surrounded with innumerable difficulties, and it might even be refused. Whilst we have the opportunity, I hope we shall be able to raise sufficient funds to make the greatest use possible of the short time allotted to us. The Fund has recently received an extension of the permit to dig at Gezer—one year from the 14th June, and an allowance of two months for the time lost by the cholera epidemic. The work at Gezer will have to be finally closed on the 14th August, 1905, and it is desirable to explore as much of the mound as is possible before that date. We are able to spend £1,200 a year on the excavations, or £1,400 for the 14 months, but if the exploration of the mound is to be complete an additional expenditure of £1,000 is necessary, and this can only be raised by special donations. The total sum required is £2,400. The other Societies receive large grants from Government funds, but the Palestine Exploration Fund has to depend upon annual subscriptions and donations. The majority of subscribers pay 10*s.* 6*d.* a year, for which they receive the *Quarterly Statement*. I have no doubt that that is all they feel they can afford, but at the same time, after the payment for the *Quarterly Statement*, their subscription contributes only between 3*s.* and 4*s.* a year to the work of excavation. I hope this appeal will meet with a ready response. It will certainly be our last chance, and I trust that from time to time we shall receive enough to make the full use of the extension that is given us of our *firman*. The resolution that I have the honour to propose is :—

> "That the Report and Accounts already printed and in the hands of subscribers be taken as read, and be received and adopted, and that this meeting pledges itself to make every effort to raise the additional funds required to enable Mr. Macalister to complete the exploration of Gezer."

Viscount SIDMOUTH.—My Lord Duke, I have great pleasure in seconding the resolution which has been proposed by Lord

Amherst of Hackney. I hope that all will endeavour to enlist subscribers for this most desirable object. Those who have not read the Reports sent out by the Society have no idea how intensely interesting they are. They carry you back to Bible history. And, with reference to this particular mound at Gezer which the Society is so intent upon excavating, I think I am right in saying that it contains the remains of six or seven different cities. It goes back to a period before the Israelite occupation and before the Canaanite occupation, and all the publications show how intimately connected the work of the Fund is with Bible history throughout the whole of its operations. I know how difficult it is to get people to subscribe and to interest themselves in work of this character. I tried myself some time ago in Devonshire. The meeting was well attended, but there was no satisfactory response. So I think it is best for those interested and who hear what Sir Charles Wilson is about to tell us, to spread that knowledge among their friends and induce them to subscribe whilst they have time, because, as you hear from the Report, only a short time remains to us of the present *firman*. I have much pleasure in seconding the resolution.

The resolution was put to the meeting and carried unanimously.

Dr. GINSBURG.—My Lord, Ladies, and Gentlemen,—The resolution that I have to propose is:—

> "That the following gentlemen be added to the General Committee of the Fund:—The Bishop of London, Sir R. Hamilton Lang, K.C.M.G., Cecil H. Smith, Esq., LL.D., Stanley A. Cook, Esq., M.A., Ormonde M. Dalton, Esq., M.A., F.S.A."

These gentlemen are too well known for me to make any comment about them, and I hope that the resolution will be properly seconded and heartily accepted.

Canon DALTON.—I have much pleasure in seconding that resolution.

The resolution was put to the meeting and carried unanimously.

Canon TRISTRAM.—My Lord, the resolution I have to propose is the following:—

> "That the Executive Committee be re-elected."

I suppose I have been asked to propose this resolution as the oldest member of the Committee, and, though I venture to propose it, I

have this apology to make, that I am really not on the Executive Committee, because I am very seldom able to attend its meetings. I think the list of those names, consisting of so many men who have distinguished themselves in Palestine Exploration work, in research generally, and in literature at home, is a guarantee that so long as they are the Committee the work of the Palestine Exploration Fund will be carried on successfully, thoroughly, and accurately. I have great pleasure in moving the re-election of the Executive Committee.

Dr. ROGERS.—I have very great pleasure in seconding the proposal.

The resolution was carried unanimously.

The CHAIRMAN.—Now I will ask Sir Charles Wilson to be good enough to give us the lecture which he has promised.

Sir CHARLES WILSON.—During a short visit to Palestine last March, it was forcibly brought home to me that the time had passed when the Palestine Exploration Fund was almost alone in its efforts to compel the reluctant soil to reveal its secrets. An era of activity has set in, which cannot but be welcome to those who have at heart the objects for which the Fund was founded; and I trust that you will allow me to express, in the name of the General Committee, a very cordial wish for the success of every earnest effort to throw light upon the history, manners, and customs of the races and peoples that from time to time have occupied the Holy Land. I am not alone in thinking that during the next 15 or 20 years important discoveries illustrative of the Bible will be made, and I hope that a large share of them may be obtained by the parent Society, stirred to fresh exertion by the friendly rivalry of kindred societies in foreign lands. On the threshold of this new era it will not be amiss to refer to what is being done by others than ourselves.

On March 10th, 1902, Dr. Sellin,[1] supported by grants from the Vienna Academy of Sciences and the Austrian Ministry of Education, and by private subscriptions, opened trenches on the site of "Taanach by the waters of Megiddo." The results he obtained during 1902 and 1903 have recently been published by

[1] Dr. Sellin has not only sent a copy of his report for the Fund, but has kindly placed at my disposal several photographs for reproduction on the screen.

the Vienna Academy,[1] and he is now again at Taanach with additional funds and every prospect of continued success.

France, which at one time took such a leading part in Palestine exploration, has become somewhat indifferent. She is now chiefly represented by the excellent *Ecole Biblique de St. Etienne* at Jerusalem, which, under the direction of P. Lagrange, publishes the well-known *Revue Biblique*, holds conferences, and sends out small parties for archaeological research. Early this year a party visited Eboda, in the Negeb, or south country, where they found many new Nabataean inscriptions, the sanctuary of the deified King Obodas, and a number of early Christian inscriptions accurately dated from the era of Eleutheropolis, and combined with the old calendar, called "the calendar of the Arabs." P. Germer-Durand, to whom so much of our knowledge of Roman roads in Palestine is due, aided by a small grant from the French Academy, has recovered 60 new mile-stones between Rabbath Ammon and Bostra, with inscriptions that give the names of a series of governors of the Roman province of Arabia. One of these is dedicated to the Palmyrene "Emperor," Vaballathus Athenodorus, son of Zenobia, with the complete imperial formula. Another rich harvest of inscriptions has been gleaned by MM. Dussaud and Macler in the country south-east of Damascus.

Germany has been actively engaged in exploration in which the German Emperor takes a keen personal interest. The *Orientgesellschaft*, which in 1902 had a sum of £12,500 placed at its disposal, has been excavating in Assyria, Babylonia, and Egypt, and at Jerash (Gerasa), and has assisted the German Palestine Society in its excavations at Tell Mutsellim (Megiddo). It has also sent out reconnoitring parties to travel through the country and select the most favourable sites for excavation. The *Vorderasiatische Gesellschaft* has assisted in the excavations at Sidon. The *Palastina Verein*, which last year was given a grant of £13,000 from German and Prussian Government funds, is excavating at Megiddo. And the *Evangelical Archaeological Institute* of Jerusalem, founded in 1902 by the united Protestant State churches of Germany under the auspices of the Emperor, is now at work. Its main object is the scientific investigation of the history, geography, and folk-lore of Palestine, and the instruction of young pastors who are sent out every year with bursaries from the German churches. Its president, Dr. Dalman,

[1] *See* below, pp. 388 *sqq.*

resides at Jerusalem in a house next to that of the British Consul, and here the Institute, with its lecture hall, museum, and library is housed.

The German excavations at Baalbek have been discussed in the *Quarterly Statement* by Dr. Bliss and Mr. Phenè Spiers. They have disclosed many interesting features in connection with the temples and the large church, but have thrown no light upon any period earlier than the Roman, to which the temples belong. At Megiddo, where the excavations are being conducted by Dr. Schumacher, the most important discoveries are:—A very early building surrounded by a ditch and wall, with masonry similar to some at Troy which Dr. Dörpfield dated about 2000 B.C.; near the building an altar of rude, unhewn blocks of stone erected over a pit, which contained a dish for the reception of the blood; close to the altar another pit, surrounded by blocks of basalt, and containing the remains—bones of animals and ashes—of burnt offerings; immediately south of the altar a chamber, perhaps a treasury, roofed with unhewn blocks of limestone, which project one beyond the other so as to form a rude arch not unlike arches at Mycenæ and in the chambers of the Pyramids; a seal on which is a well engraved lion with the inscription, "To Shama, the servant of Jeroboam"—possibly the seal of an officer of the warlike King of Israel, Jeroboam II (782–743 B.C.); a Babylonian cylinder with cuneiform inscription; inscribed Hebrew pottery; rows of monoliths, *massêbôth*, upon some of which there are said to be ancient Hebrew letters; and infant and adult burials in connection with "high places" and foundation rites. The publication of the results will commence next January. In 1903–04 the first students arrived at the Institute in Jerusalem, and attended two courses of lectures given by Professors Dalman and Löhr. Excursions were made to Northern Palestine and Petra.

For many years the large funds which the Russian Palestine Society has at its disposal have been devoted, for the most part, to the support of schools in Palestine in which Russian is taught. No important work has been undertaken by the Society since the excavations in the ground east of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre.

Spain, in the person of one of her Consuls in Palestine, has been excavating at Samaria, where two fine sarcophagi of the Roman period have been brought to light.

Turkey has continued the excavations in the temple of Eshmun at Sidon, where more Phœnician inscriptions have been found.

The American School of Archæology at Jerusalem has continued its useful activity. During the 12 months for which he was appointed, the late director, Professor Paton, travelled in the Ḥaurân to visit all the holy places possible and gather the local religious beliefs. He next visited Southern Lebanon to study the institutions and customs of the modern Druses, and then went to Northern Lebanon, where Dr. Spoer, the Fellow of the School, made a special study of the ancient temple at Beit Meri. Lectures were delivered at Jerusalem, excursions were made from that place, tombs which yielded interesting finds were opened in Phœnicia, and excavations were made outside Jerusalem to throw light on the course of the old city wall. In July, 1903, a friend of the University of Chicago offered a substantial sum of money to be available annually for five years for excavation and exploration in Bible Lands. This led to the foundation of the Oriental Exploration Fund which is already at work at *Bismya* in Babylonia, and will eventually, it is hoped, take up some work in Palestine. Dr. Bliss, with a grant from another fund, has also returned to work in the Holy Land.

In connection with this outbreak of activity I may mention that Mr. Crace, our Honorary Secretary, has been in communication with the kindred Societies in foreign countries with the view of stopping illicit digging and of preventing competition in the selection of sites to excavate. The replies have been sympathetic, but thus far the correspondence has led to no practical result. Another point to be considered is the destruction of ancient monuments. At Jerash (Gerasa), for instance, the Circassians are reported to have blown up important ruins with gunpowder to obtain building stones, and drums of columns to be hollowed out as drinking troughs. The preservation of historic monuments is eminently a matter for joint action, and I would suggest that the Societies interested be invited to join us in a friendly representation to the Porte on the subject.

In March last I was able to visit Gezer, and was struck by the strategical importance of its position—on the crest of a hill-feature, not far from the great road, over the coast plain, from Egypt to the north, and within easy reach of two of the principal approaches to Jerusalem. The extent of the ruins of Gezer can only be fully realised when the mound is viewed from the slope of a neighbouring hill. And it is only when standing in the midst

of the deep trenches and huge banks of rubbish thrown out of them that the heavy nature of the task upon which Mr. Macalister is engaged can be fully appreciated. The rubbish is so compact that it stands without support in the trenches, and unlined tunnels can be driven through it. Difficulties and delays, however, frequently arise from the fact that the walls of all ages are built of unhewn or roughly tooled boulders, set in mud and packed with small stones, and that, except in rare cases, the builders of a late period did not use the walls of their predecessors as foundations. The result is that the house walls of the different periods cross each other in an annoying manner, and that the buildings of each period, after having been excavated, planned, and photographed, have to be removed before the buildings beneath them can be examined. This entails the carriage of all the boulders to the surface by men—a costly labour but not without a certain interest. Nearly every boulder is of the size and weight that a man, with his hands clasped beneath it, can carry on his back; and this, possibly, was the method employed by the Canaanite ancestors of the present villagers when they carried up stones to build their first walls on the hill. Considering the costly and troublesome nature of this work, the amount of rubbish which Mr. Macalister has turned over for the sum which the Fund has been able to place at his disposal is really remarkable. I am glad to be able to report that the excavations are not only being carried out economically but in a thoroughly efficient and business-like manner. In all these respects, I think, the work of the Fund compares favourably with that of Austria at Taanach, and Germany at Megiddo. I attribute this happy result in great measure to the admirable way in which the working parties have been organised, and to the excellent relations that have been established with the fellaḥîn. I had an opportunity of seeing the men and their female assistants at work, and of witnessing the implicit confidence placed by all in the impartiality and justice of Mr. Macalister. He seemed to me to be in the position of a strict but kindly master who had succeeded in winning the trust and devotion of those he employed. I must add that he has received every support from Suraya Effendi, the Turkish Commissioner; and that he is fortunate in having a very competent foreman in the person of Yusif, who acted in the same capacity during Dr. Bliss's excavations at *Tell Zakaríya*, &c.

The archæological value of the excavations cannot well be exaggerated; and when the results obtained at Gezer, Taanach, and Megiddo have been finally classified and compared, we shall know much more than we do at present of the history, religion, and culture of the people who occupied Palestine prior to the time when Israel passed over Jordan, and during the existence of the kingdoms of Judah and Israel. Thus far the Gezer excavations have disclosed lower state of civilisation than I had expected to find. Few cut stones have been found, and there is no trace of the use of mortar in the masonry. The oldest walls consist of uncoursed masonry, in which the larger stones are undressed field boulders. In the latest walls the stones are laid in courses, but they are only roughly hammer-dressed. There are no regular streets, there is little more than a maze of blind alleys, and the whole plan is similar to that of a modern hill village in Palestine through which no line of traffic runs. No house seems to have been better than another, and no building has yet been discovered that could be identified as the residence of the *melek* or "king" of Gezer, or of a Gezerite more wealthy than his fellows. The pottery and small objects unearthed, with certain notable exceptions, tell the same story; but surprises are so common in Palestine that it is unwise to theorise on the results of partial exploration. At Taanach Dr. Sellin has found houses of the same character; but he has also uncovered some more important buildings—a result, perhaps, due to the fact that the site was not occupied after the Captivity until a Roman settlement was founded at the foot of the hill. A curious feature at Gezer is that, except in the tombs, no trace has yet been found of the Byzantine and Crusading periods.

The débris at Gezer may be regarded as representing four epochs in the history of the place, and to each of the first three two cities may be assigned.

1. The *Pre-historic* Epoch (dated by Mr. Macalister about 3000–2000 B.C.).—Additional light has been thrown upon the neolithic cave-dwellers of this period, whose existence was first made known by the excavations. A rude prognathous head, the earliest example of modelling yet found in the mound, may represent, perhaps, the general type of these people. Evidence has accumulated to show that their settlement was surrounded by an earth rampart; that their domestic animals were the sheep, cow, pig, and goat; that a rock-surface pitted with cup-marks was their place of sacrifice;

and that the cup-marks of the neolithic people, and the *maṣṣêbôth* or standing stones of the Semites, both of which were connected with religious rites, are mutually exclusive.

2. The *Early Semitic* or Canaanite Epoch (about 2000–1000 B.C.). —The *tell* continues to be prolific in small objects belonging to this period, and the harvest of scarabs and other evidence of Egyptian influence is undiminished. Amongst the finds have been vessels of thick, coarse pottery, used for melting bronze for casting; amulets; fragments of gold leaf; and scarabs of the Hyksos period, fourteenth and sixteenth dynasties, including a fine one, in gold setting, of Khyan, "the great king whose remains are found from Crete to Baghdad," and of Amenhotep III and his wife Thyi, of the period of the Tell Amarna tablets. Dr. Blanckenhorn, well known for his papers on Palestinian geology, has examined the monoliths of the "high place," and states that all but one are of local stone. The exception is that with a groove over one face which Mr. Macalister has happily suggested may have been cut to prevent the rope from slipping when the block was dragged to Gezer either from some sacred locality or from the temple of a conquered foe. The suggestion illustrates 2 Sam. xvii, 13, and an obscure phrase in King Mesha's inscription on the Moabite stone. The erection of standing stones, the *maṣṣêbôth*, or "pillars" of the Bible, in groups, or, sometimes, singly at the thresholds of houses, is common to Gezer, Taanach, and Megiddo, and the very large number of representations of Ashtoreth unearthed at the three places points to a widespread worship of that goddess. The figures are of various types,—one interesting for distinctively Egyptian features that are usually absent. Of human sacrifice in connection with foundation rites more evidence has been obtained, including the skeleton of a woman of advanced age. Several granaries full of burnt grain have been found, one containing over a ton of corn, and another the charred skeleton of a man. One of the gates of the Canaanite city proves to have been built over the earth rampart of the cave-dwellers, and to have been closed by a wall of the Hebrew period built outside it.

Professor Macalister's opinion that "among the work-people on the *tell* and the inhabitants of the neighbouring villages both facial and other characters closely correspond to those of the Amorites," gives an additional interest to the photographs and measurements of the fellaḥîn, and to the series of papers which Mr. Macalister

and Dr. Masterman are preparing on the modern inhabitants of Palestine.

3. *Late Semitic Epoch* (about 1400–600 B.C.).—The historical references point to a connection of three peoples with the Gezer of this period—Hebrews, Canaanites, and Philistines. With our present knowledge it is impossible to say, in many cases, to which of the three an antiquity belongs; but the general tendency of the excavations is to indicate that the Hebrews who settled amongst the Canaanites at Gezer, learnt their ways, manners, and customs and followed them as their own. There is evidence in the Bible that this occurred in certain places in Palestine, and the tendency is illustrated by the adoption of Arab dress and manners by some of the modern Jews. Specimens of old Hebrew writing have been found on weights, and potters' stamps, but the most interesting discovery has been that of an Assyrian contract-tablet which refers to the sale of an estate with houses and slaves at a time when Manasseh was King of Judah. The tablet was found in a comparatively late stratum, contemporary with the Jewish monarchy, in the trench on the Western Hill nearest to the highest point. It was extracted by the foreman, Yusif, from untouched soil in the trench, and its date, 649 B.C., accords with that of the associated débris. Mr. Macalister, although he does not read cuneiform, saw at once that the tablet could not belong to the Tell el-Amarna series, and that it must be assigned to the time of the Hebrew monarchy. His first thought was that it might be a Hebrew document written in cuneiform. The fact that the scribe does not appear to have known who had been elected eponym for the year seems to indicate a local transaction, and this is by no means unlikely. Gezer was one of those strongholds that the Assyrians must have held to protect their line of communications with Egypt. It was almost certainly taken by Sennacherib, though not mentioned in the annals of his reign, as they have come down to us; and it must have been in Assyrian hands when Esarhaddon invaded Egypt. The place where the tablet was found suggests the idea that it may be a record of some transaction due to the presence of a small garrison in a castle on the highest point of the mound. Unfortunately, this part of the hill is occupied by a cemetery and cannot be excavated. Notes on this interesting discovery by Professor Pinches, Dr. Sayce, Mr. Johns, and Professor Petrie will be found in the July *Quarterly Statement*.

Dr. Sayce seems to think it possible that the tablet was not actually found at Gezer, but may have been obtained by an Arab workman at Jerusalem, and placed where it was found, presumably with the hope of a pecuniary reward. This view seems to me untenable. It involves the belief that an ignorant Arab labourer obtained a fractured tablet—contemporary with the Jewish Monarch, dated in a manner, only known, I believe, in one other instance, and wanting those parts where the place-name occurred—and buried it amidst the débris to which it properly belonged. I do not think a fraud of that nature possible under the system established by Mr. Macalister, or that it could have been carried out without the knowledge of his foreman, who, during his long service with the Fund, has shown himself as trustworthy as he is capable.

4. *Post-Exilic* Epoch (about 600–100 B.C.).—Amongst the most recent finds assigned to this period are lead weights and vessels; a curious little inscribed votive altar (described in *Quarterly Statement*, 1903, p. 314); baths; and a remarkable reservoir more than 50 feet deep, quarried in the rock, coated with cement, and provided with rock-hewn steps. The reservoir would hold about 4,000,000 gallons, but the way in which it was filled is unknown. It is possibly a relic of the time of the Maccabean wars.

Mr. Macalister is now carrying out a systematic examination of the cemeteries round the mound—the first scientific exploration of a cemetery in Palestine. The tombs thus far examined belong either to the post-exilic period or to early Christian times. They have all been rifled, but some rich gleanings have been made. Amongst these are a signet ring of bronze with the head (bearded) of Christ which, judging from a coin found with it, and from the type of the head, would be early fourth century. Another seal, found in an adjacent tomb, has a female head—perhaps that of the Virgin Mary.

These interesting excavations which have told us so much may tell us still more if we can only complete them. We have now 14 months in which we can work, but to do all we wish in them a sum of £1,000 is required in addition to the annual subscriptions. I would appeal to those who have so generously supported the Fund in the past to help once more, and not allow it to be said that we were obliged to leave a large portion of Gezer unexplored because we could not raise £1,000.

The CHAIRMAN.—Ladies and Gentlemen,—I am sure I shall only be expressing your feelings if I convey our most hearty thanks and keen appreciation of the lecture which Sir Charles Wilson has so kindly given to us. It has been interesting in every way, and it has been illustrated by some photographs which give us an extraordinarily vivid idea of the work which is being carried on now at Gezer, and will, I hope, go to do something to enhance the force of the remarks made by Lord Amherst and Sir Charles Wilson upon the earnest necessity for strong assistance. I do not know that I can say anythnig in support of their appeal to the public for additional funds for the prosecution of this object. I am sure you will all feel that, as the time is short, and as perhaps a similar opportunity may not occur again of undertaking this work, it is of the utmost importance that the Committee should be furnished with funds to enable it to carry on its work in the most thorough manner possible. It is extremely satisfactory to hear from Sir Charles that these works are being carried on in a thorough and proper manner, because I am quite sure of this, that nothing is more disastrous than perfunctory or ill carried out excavations of any description, particularly as, in a case like this, so much has been destroyed that unless a thorough record is kept of everything and the work pursued systematically and upon an intelligent system, it is inevitable that much may be lost that can never be regained. On the other hand, while it is being pursued in the manner we have heard described, we have, I trust, a complete and perfect record of all the relics of the past. It is not for me, with my small knowledge of the subject, to express an opinion, perhaps, but I must say that of recent years I know of no discoveries which this Fund has been engaged in which have been more interesting than those now before us at Gezer. They seem to me to be revealing to us states of society of which perhaps we hitherto had only a very inadequate idea. They remind us that, although in certain forms, perhaps, heathenism was not altogether wanting in points which command our admiration in some sense, there are other forms of heathenism which are only a travesty, a libel upon every proper idea of deity, or a caricature of all we hold high and noble. That seems to have been the character of the heathenism of the early Canaanites in Palestine, and perhaps helps us to understand something of the denunciation with which the habits and the worship of those nations is spoken of in Scripture. However, it is not for me to dilate upon a subject which I cannot

speak about with any real knowledge. Moreover, I was reminded when I came here that we were not to be more than an hour and a quarter about our business, and therefore, Ladies and Gentlemen, I will ask you to let me conclude with once more expressing your and my high appreciation of the lecture which has been given us by Sir Charles Wilson, and of our sense of the value of what he has told us and of the photographs he has shown us. And, in conclusion, once more let me impress upon you, and ask you to impress upon your friends, the absolute necessity of putting the Committee in a position to pursue these excavations without delay to a successful termination.

Sir WILLIAM CHARLEY, K.C., K.C.M.G.—I have much pleasure in moving:—

> "That this meeting desires to express its thanks to Mr. R. A. Stewart Macalister for his zealous and diligent conduct of the excavations, and his care in noting and reporting the results; also to Mr. Hanauer, Dr. Masterman, and others resident in Palestine, or visitors who have contributed the results of their local observations for publication by the Fund.
>
> "This meeting also desires to thank the several local Hon. Secretaries for their assistance in making known the work of the Fund, and particularly Professor Theodore Wright, our able and zealous Hon. Gen. Secretary for the United States, who has for so many years been an enthusiastic worker for the interests of the Palestine Exploration Fund."

Our vote of thanks is chiefly to Mr. Macalister, for his zealous and diligent conduct of the excavations. The difficulties which he has encountered have been alluded to by Sir Charles Wilson. He says, the nature of the relations between the different deposits often form a complicated and delicate problem. He has had to modify in the course of his excavations some of the conclusions he had previously arrived at. He has done so with very great care, and he has given us the materials from which we can form a sound judgment ourselves. He discovered the crematorium used by the first inhabitants of Gezer, and he has actually discovered the chimney through which the smoke went. He has also shown us that the system of cremation was altered by those who subsequently occupied Gezer, and they resorted to inter-mural interment, a great

number of skeletons having been found by Professor Macalister. Allusion has been made by Sir Charles Wilson to infant sacrifice. I need not say more about that, which is a remarkable and unpleasant discovery. You have had an illustration of the very jar in which the skeleton of one of the infants was found. Traces of Egyptian occupation are numerous. These have been alluded to by Sir Charles Wilson, and I find that Professor Flinders Petrie, who is a great expert, says that some of these date from 2,000 to 5,000 years before Christ. We read a great deal in the Bible about the mixture of the worship of the true God and false worship, and certainly Mr. Macalister himself was greatly struck with the fact of finding the name of Jehovah in the Greek form on a heathen altar. The resolution also speaks of Mr. Hanauer and Dr. Masterman and others. I had the pleasure of meeting Mr. Hanauer at Jerusalem some years ago, and he has contributed some valuable papers, and so also has Dr. Masterman. We have also to thank the local Hon. Secretaries. We cannot do without them, as it is through them the funds are expected to come in. I must also allude to Professor Theodore Wright. It is difficult to say which of the great English-speaking nations takes the greatest interest in the Bible and biblical research, the United States or England. Both are most zealous, and the United States certainly do not come after us in their love of the Bible.

General Sir CHARLES WARREN.—My Lord, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I have very great pleasure in seconding this resolution, because I have a keen sense of the excellent work that is being now carried out. I have followed with great interest the accounts given us of the work that has been done at Gezer, and I feel that we have in Mr. Stewart Macalister a most competent and zealous officer and one who should be supported in every way. At the present time you have the power to do the work, and what we want now is for you to give the Palestine Exploration Fund the sinews of war by which the work may be carried out. It is just 34 years since I spoke to you first with regard to the work of the Palestine Exploration Fund, and it has been carried on continuously ever since, and I can assure you, as far as I am aware, that it has never been carried on better than at the present time. I have the greatest pleasure in seconding the resolution.

The resolution was put to the meeting and carried unanimously.

Sir CHARLES WILSON.—Ladies and Gentlemen,—It is my pleasant duty to propose a very cordial vote of thanks to the Royal Institution for allowing us the use of their theatre this afternoon. We have always met with the greatest kindness from the Institution whenever we have asked for the loan of their theatre, and I do not think we could have a more agreeable place for our Annual Meeting. I may also add that we owe much to the courtesy of the Duke of Northumberland, who is the President.

The HON. SECRETARY.—I have much pleasure in seconding this motion. We all feel greatly indebted to the Royal Institution for the loan of their theatre, and the success of this meeting is largely due to the courtesy extended to us.

The resolution was carried unanimously.

Lord AMHERST.—I have been asked to propose one more resolution, which I am sure you will have anticipated, and, if you will allow me, I should like to say one or two words that occurred to me on hearing the description of the work at Gezer. It was mentioned that other Funds had taken up work in Palestine, or were about to do so, and we shall all welcome such co-workers. You will recollect that cuneiform tablets were found at Tell el-Amarna. Their date was about 1400–1300 B.C., and they showed, I think, that the communications between Mesopotamia and Egypt were in the same cuneiform writing that we have found at Gezer. And more, a great many letters were discovered that had passed between the princes of Syria and Palestine and the ruler of Egypt The part of Tell el-Amarna in which they were found is about the size of this table. When the Fund excavated at Lachish only one tablet, belonging to the Tell el-Amarna series, and bearing the name of Zimrida, was found. These tablets are deposited, no doubt, over a great part of the country, and we hope we may be fortunate enough to find some of them. At any rate, we shall do our best. The resolution I have to propose I know will meet with your appreciation. It is :—"That this meeting presents its hearty thanks to his Grace the Duke of Northumberland for presiding over this gathering." He is always ready to come forward and promote the objects of such a Society as ours.

F. D. MOCATTA, Esq.—I am much honoured in being asked to second the vote of thanks which Lord Amherst of Hackney

has proposed to you; the only difference being that, with all the appreciation I have of the valuable services rendered by his Grace, I have not those extraordinary qualifications of learning that Lord Amherst possesses. I am very pleased to find that the Fund is working so well, and that it has gone so thoroughly into the depths of Palestine exploration, and we are very much pleased at having the Duke of Northumberland as our Chairman to-day. I beg to second the vote of thanks.

The resolution was carried with acclamation.

The CHAIRMAN.—Well, gentlemen, I thank you for the very kind way in which this vote of thanks has been proposed and received. I can assure you it has been a very great pleasure to me to take part in the proceedings to-day, and I shall be still more grateful if I can look back upon my taking the chair as being the means of still further supporting the work. Also, as President of the Royal Institution, I have to say, on behalf of that Institution, that we are most happy to receive this Annual Meeting here and help to promote whatever we can of historical and scientific research, although it may not be exactly on the lines of the chief work of this Institution.

The proceedings then terminated.

# NINTH QUARTERLY REPORT ON THE EXCAVATION OF GEZER.

1 *June*—10 *August*, 1904.

By R. A. Stewart Macalister, M.A., F.S.A.

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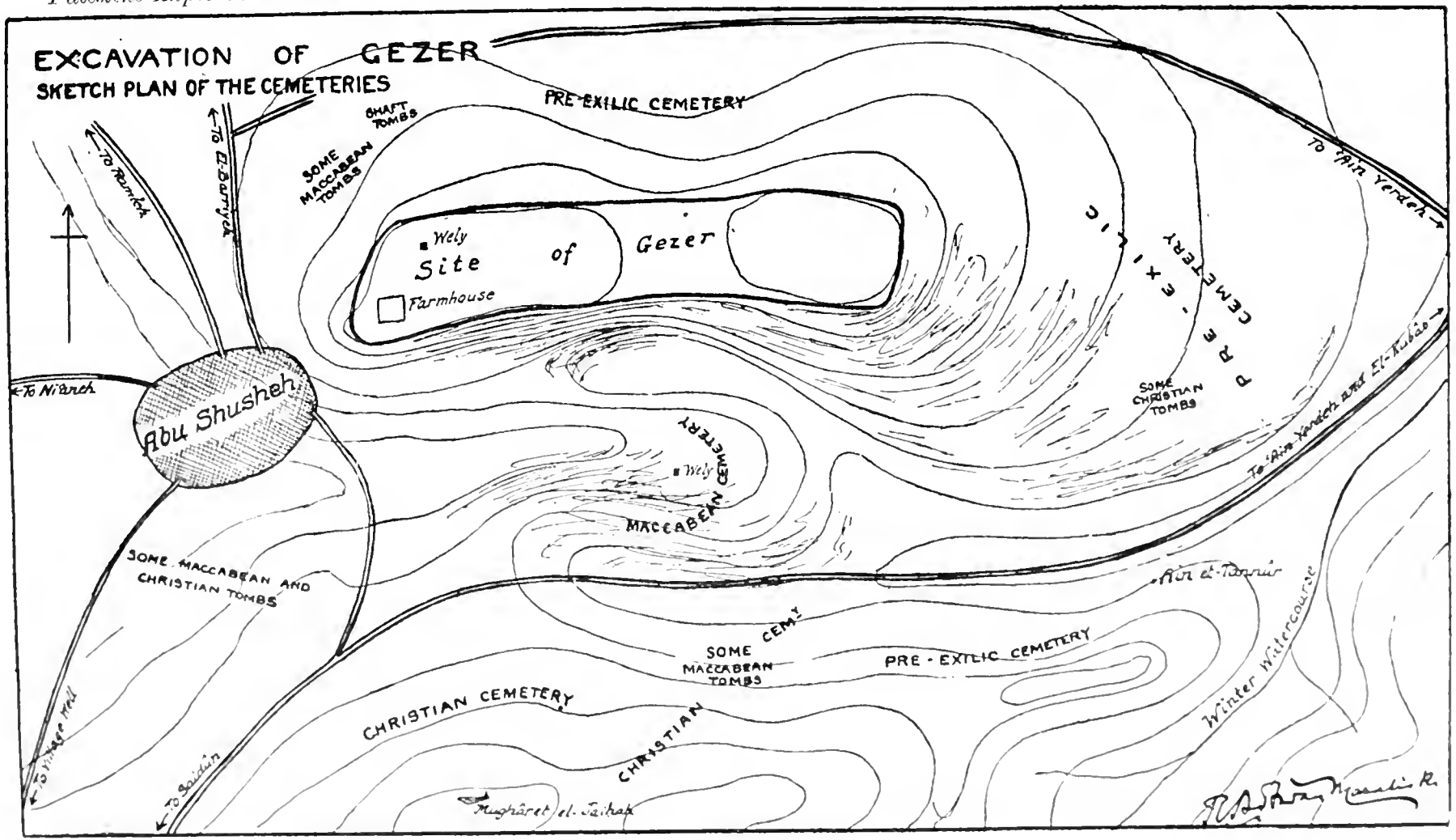
## Preliminary.

The futile imprecations contained in the epitaph of King Eshmunazar, and the more practical but equally futile mechanical contrivances for concealing the entrances to sepulchral chambers found in Jerusalem and elsewhere, show that the plundering of tombs is a very ancient industry in Palestine. Probably at no period—Seleucid, Roman, Byzantine, Crusader, or Arab—were the sepulchres of the dead safe from spoliation. Indeed, all things considered, it is a matter for wonder that any tombs at all are left in the country for examination by the archæologist, anthropologist, and historian.

During the Fund's campaign at Beit Jibrîn in 1900, 12 tombs were opened, 10 of which were found to have been already plundered. The fellaḥîn told us that this was about equal to the average of their own successes—a fact which affords the only consolation available for the scientific observer as he contemplates the havoc that has been wrought at that once incomparably important archæological site by Arab rapacity, stimulated by the greed of the Levantine middleman, in its turn excited by Western ignorance and extravagance.

The earlier robbers were no doubt attracted principally by the hope of finding objects in gold or silver, to be melted down for their bullion value. Comparatively speaking, however, only a small number of tombs contain deposits of precious metal, and it is reasonable to conclude that the frequent disappointments which awaited gold-hunters is one of the causes why they left so many tombs unopened. It has been reserved for our own generation to introduce an element which will assuredly hasten the complete destruction of the ancient tombs of Palestine, and of all the precious


EXCAVATION OF GEZER
SKETCH PLAN OF THE CEMETERIES
PRE-EXILIC CEMETERY
SHAFT TOMBS
SOME MACCABEAN TOMBS
To Ramleh
To El-Burjya
To Ain Yerdeh
Wely
Site of Gezer
Farmhouse
PRE-EXILIC CEMETERY
SOME CHRISTIAN TOMBS
To Ain Yerdeh and El-Kubab
To Nitarch
Abu Shusheh
MACCABEAN CEMETERY
Wely
SOME MACCABEAN AND CHRISTIAN TOMBS
Ain el-Tannur
SOME MACCABEAN TOMBS
PRE-EXILIC CEMETERY
CHRISTIAN CEMETERY
CHRISTIAN
Winter Watercourse
To Village Well
To Saidun
Mughâret el-Jaikab

scientific lessons they can teach. This is the ever-increasing flood of tourists who yearly visit the country, and who are rapidly demoralising the districts that come more immediately within their sphere of influence—a consequence of "tourist development" that seems to be inevitable in every country throughout the world. Many of these visitors are mere "trippers," with no real interest in or knowledge of the history of Palestine, as the astounding questions they propound to residents abundantly prove; but all are eager to possess at any price, however exorbitant, what they call "curios" as mementos of their excursion. To meet this demand, a tribe of dealers has sprung up all over the country, each employing an army of agents who ride everywhere, east and west of the Jordan, encouraging the natives to tear in pieces tombs that otherwise might have awaited scientific examination in comparative safety.

Under these circumstances the necessity becomes all the more pressing for firman-holders in Palestine to devote part of the time at their disposal to the cemeteries belonging to their mounds. The experience of the Fund has been that as soon as the excavator's back is turned a crowd of speculators rush in on his site, and it is desirable to leave as few gleanings for them as possible. How much time should be given to this branch of the work depends, of course, on the funds and the number of officers in the staff; in the case of Gezer I judged that a quarter year might profitably be spent exclusively on this investigation, even though it would involve the sacrifice of part of the mound that otherwise would have been excavated. The present report is the record of the main results of this work. Within the period named every tomb of which the slightest trace could be detected above ground has been opened and cleared.

The district round Abû Shûsheh has not a very good name with the professional tomb plunderers, some of whom were in my employ. (I may say that the experience that these rascals had gained was very valuable to me, as they often were able to detect tombs whose surface indications were visible only to a highly practised eye.) They tell me that rarely, if ever, have valuable objects been found in this neighbourhood, and contrast it unfavourably with 'Amwâs, Silbît, Sejed, and Ḳezâzeh, places where tombs containing (from their point of view) precious plunder have been found in considerable numbers. On the other hand I have been told that a Ramleh dealer has said that formerly the best glass used to come into his

hands from Abû Shûsheh. This probably means merely that it was brought to him by Abû Shûsheh men, or by men who alleged that it was found in Abû Shûsheh. As a general rule the statements of those engaged in the antiquity trade in Palestine regarding the provenance of any object are to be taken as presumptive evidence that it came from anywhere other than the locality named.

Although the Abû Shûsheh tombs, viewed as gold mines, may be inferior, the scientific results of their examination have been highly satisfactory, and it may be claimed for the excavation of Gezer, that for the first time in the course of Palestinian exploration the burial customs of every age of a city's history have been determined.

It has been found that *minutiæ* would be out of place in the present report. Thus, the few lamps illustrated have been selected from considerably over a hundred of which drawings have been made; and the same is more or less true of other classes of objects. Moreover, the proper delineation of tomb-plans and deposit-groups require plates larger than the page-limits of the *Quarterly Statement*. I therefore content myself here with an account of general principles deduced, and with drawing and describing typical specimens of the ordinary deposits, as well as the most important of the less usual objects.

On the *tell* itself little work has been done. The tracing of the city wall on the south side was for a time continued; the gang of labourers engaged on this task discovered a fragment of masonry which at present I am inclined to regard as the foundation of the missing Crusaders' castle of Mont Gisart. I have not yet been able to expose it sufficiently for thorough study. As the cemeteries for the present seem exhausted,[1] the work in the trenches has at the moment of writing been resumed.

A few days were lost between the expiry of the original firman, on the 14th June, and the receipt of formal permission to continue the work. Later, in July, I was detained for a fortnight in Jerusalem by illness. Otherwise the excavation has proceeded without interruption.

[1] The best time to search for tombs is the early spring, for reasons into which I entered fully in the first of the present series of reports. Should the excavation of the mound be far enough advanced to justify it, I may keep a gang or two tomb hunting in the opening months of next year. This entirely depends on the funds available.

## Part I.—Canaanite Tombs.

*Situation and Number.*—At the point marked "Shaft tombs" in Plate I, at the north-west corner of the *tell*, is a group of three tombs with which our consideration of the cemeteries of Gezer must begin. With these I propose to take into consideration another, found more than a year ago within the walls of the city.

*The Tomb-chambers.*—I shall commence with a description of the tomb last mentioned, because, as its importance was not previously recognised, passing references only were made to it in the report (see *Quarterly Statement*, 1903, pp. 190, 315).

Originally the cave was a Troglodyte dwelling, as is proved by the characteristic stairway leading down to it. The principal chamber is very irregular: its maximum diameter is about 27 feet. The cave possesses a second chamber to the left of the stairway: this is remarkable, for, as a rule, second chambers are not found in the Troglodyte dwellings. All traces of the early settlers had been cleared out of the cave, which contained Semitic remains only.

This side chamber, which is 11 feet long and 4 feet broad, is exactly similar to the small chambers at the bottoms of the shaft tombs. At its entrance is a circular pit sunk in the floor, 3 feet 9 inches in diameter, and 1 foot 4 inches deep. Just over, if not in, this pit the body had been laid. The pottery was ranged round the walls of the small chamber: in the principal chamber nothing was deposited, and its earth yielded a heterogeneous assortment of weavers' weights, spindle whorls, pottery fragments, and other objects, evidently remains of the last occupation of the cave as a dwelling, and not to be associated in any way with the interment, unless, indeed, we may guess that the person buried was the occupant, and the former owner of the fragments alluded to. It is by no means impossible that the small chamber was hollowed out specially for the purpose of the interment: in any case the pit seems to have been intended for the body, as in a later tomb, to which more particular reference will be made in the second part of this report.

The tombs outside the walls are shaft tombs: that is, they consist of one small chamber sunk at the bottom of a cylindrical vertical shaft quarried in the rock. In the best example the

chamber is 11 feet 3 inches in maximum length, 8 feet 3 inches in maximum breadth, and 4 feet 3 inches in height: the entrance from the shaft is in the middle of the longest side. The shaft is 6 feet 4 inches in diameter at the top, 4 feet 6 inches at the bottom; its depth is 8 feet. In another tomb the shaft is 7 feet deep, and 5 feet 8 inches in diameter at the top. The third tomb shaft is peculiar; it is rectangular, not circular, and, unlike the circular shafts, is provided with steps. The last named shaft is 8 feet 7 inches long, 6 feet broad. There is no rule determining the orientation of the side chamber with respect to the shaft.

*Method of Sepulture.*—Unfortunately the damp and salt in the soil has not merely rotted every bone, but actually caused them all to crumble to dust. Nothing recognisable was to be found among the meagre splinters of bone rescued from the tombs on the hillside, and from the tomb in the city there came nothing but a fragment of a pelvis, and pieces of the femur, tibia, and humerus. I worked very carefully through the earth, hoping to find at least a fragment of the skull, but there was not the slightest trace of any other bone. On that account I did not perceive that I had to deal with an interment: I thought that the four bones in question had happened to be deposited by some unexplainable circumstance. Single human bones are not infrequently found in the débris of the *tell*, no doubt with a story attached in each case that we can never hope to know. Fortunately I marked the position of each fragment in the plan that I drew in my notebook, so am now able to say that they represented the interment of a full-grown person, lying on the left side, with the body in a contracted position. The head was pointed in an easterly direction. We may assume that this was the normal attitude impressed on the bodies when buried, though no special importance seems to have been attached to the direction of the head if we may judge from the analogy of the next period.

*The Bodies.*—As no recognisable bones, with the exception of the four fragments above mentioned, have been recovered from the tombs of this class, no observation regarding the physical characters of the bodies can be recorded.

*Deposits.*—(A) *Religious Emblems.*—None have been found.

(B) *Food and Drink.*—In three tombs offerings of drink had been left for the dead, and in two were offerings of food; the fourth tomb was empty. The drink offerings can of course only be inferred from the indications furnished by the disposition of the vessels that

presumably contained them. These are large jars, which are always either empty, or filled with the earth that has silted into the chamber and everything it contains. They have all pointed bottoms, and had they been for any reason deposited empty would naturally have been laid on their sides: as care has in every case been taken to place them standing, we may assume that they were left in the tomb full of liquid. Moreover, in nearly every jar so deposited a small jug is found. This can only be explained as a drinking cup, for dipping into the drink filling the heavy standing jar: just as is to be seen to-day at the excavation works, where there is a barrel full of water for the use of the labourers; on the surface of the water floats a tin cup intended for drinking and for ladling the water into the small pots distributed among the gangs.

The recognisable remains of food consist of cooked fragments of mutton, identified by the bones remaining. These are placed in saucers or dishes. In the middle of one such deposit a bronze spear-head was left, perhaps to enable the deceased to cut the meat, and another bowl was inverted over the whole, presumably to keep it warm.

(c) *Lamps.*—Reserving fuller details for the concluding memoir, I shall only refer to the lamps which have been found. The distinction between the Canaanite lamps and those of the later periods is worth calling attention to, as it has been erroneously stated that no lamps exist from Pre-Israelite times. The earlier specimens are to be known by the shape of the spout, which is triangular, owing to the lips being only comparatively slightly drawn together. In the later lamps the lips are drawn so closely that the spout is rectangular in shape. The contrast is well shown in the accompanying photograph (Fig. 1).

The deposition of lamps in Canaanite tombs seems to be exceptional. They were found in one only of the four tombs opened. As period succeeds period, the custom is found to grow, and to reach an extravagant degree in some of the latest tombs, where occasionally two or three hundred lamps are to be found. It has been suggested in a previous report that the ceremonial use of lamps may be reminiscent of a sacrifice involving fire, which in the symbolised rite is typified by the lamp. If we might assume this as a postulate, it would be legitimate to infer that the funeral sacrifice had not yet given place to the symbol at the time of the interments we are now describing, and that therefore the lamp had

not yet taken its place in ritual. This, at least, seems a feasible explanation of the scarcity of these objects in the early tombs.

(D) *Implements and Weapons.*—With the warrior in Early Palestine, as all over the world, was deposited his spear; of course, to us represented by the bronze head, the wooden shaft having long since decayed away. One very fine spear-head recalls the series found in the cistern with the mutilated girl two years ago.[1] A curved knife which was found, is, no doubt, for cutting food. There were also some bronze hairpins with a hole in the middle

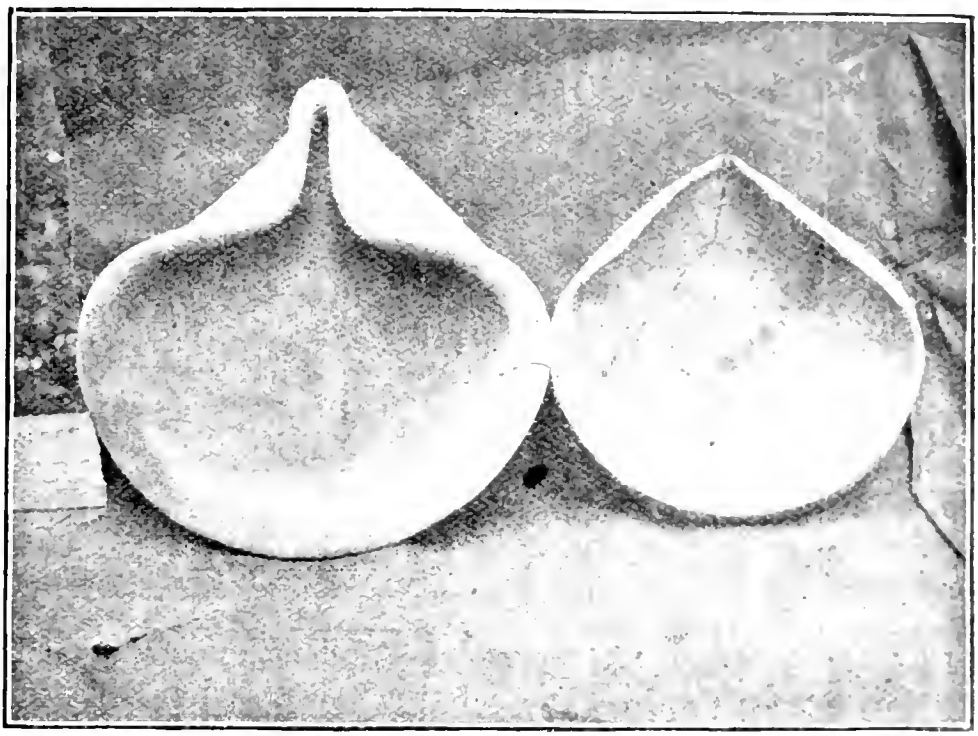


FIG. 1.—Canaanite and Hebrew Lamps. (The Canaanite lamp is to the right.)

of the shank. One of these is handsomely ornamented with rings and knobs. To these may be added a ring, probably meant for mounting a scarab.

(E) *Clothing, Adornment, Amulets.*—Besides the hairpins just mentioned we need only refer to the scarabs (Fig. 2, p. 328). These are steatite, with traces of blue enamel remaining upon them. They appear to be uniformly of about the XIIth or XIIIth dynasties. One scarab is set on a thick bronze ring.

[1] With the difference that this specimen is tanged, while those compared were socketed.

All these objects, with the exception of the curved bronze knife, were found in the tomb that at the beginning of this section we described as having a square entrance shaft instead of one of the usual circular type. Among them is a small vase of green enamelled porcelain, decorated with brown lines; this is a cosmetic pot. There were in the same tomb a scarab in dark brown pottery and two in basalt, which, as they bear no design, have not been drawn. It will be seen that the deposits from this tomb are markedly Egyptian in character: could it have been that of an Egyptian resident buried according to the local rites?

Notwithstanding the prolonged Egyptian domination over Gezer, we can hardly expect to find mummies, as any Egyptian

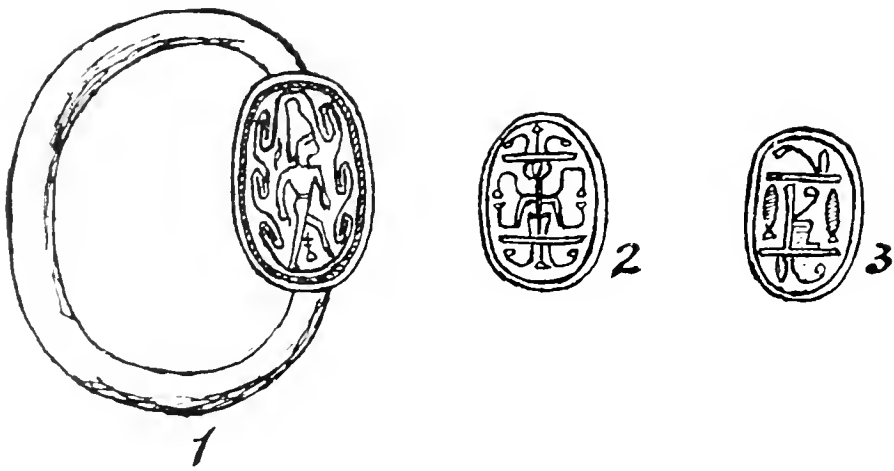



FIG. 2.—Scarabs.

family able to afford the expense of embalming would certainly transfer their dead to Egypt for interment, just as in the converse case the remains of Jacob and of Joseph are recorded to have been carried for burial from Egypt to Palestine.

## PART II.—LATE SEMITIC TOMBS.

*Situation and Number.*—By reference to Plate I it will be seen that the tombs of the later Semitic period are found on the slopes of the *tell*, north and east, and on the hill next to it on the south side. The total number of tombs of this period examined has been 35; but a certain number were found to be empty.

*The Tomb-Chambers.*—The entrance shafts, characteristic of the earlier tombs, entirely disappear. The doorway is a roughly cut

hole, sometimes rectangular or oval, but usually more or less circular, on an average 3 or 4 feet in diameter. This hole is generally horizontal, being cut in the roof of the chamber; a vertical doorway, cut in the *side* of the chamber, is exceptional. The entrance is never in the centre of the ceiling, but always at one side. It is true that in two or three instances there is a circular hole in the middle of the roof *in addition* to the normal doorway; this is always too high above the chamber floor to permit a person to drop through without injury, and no means of access to the cave through it are provided. It may have been used for lowering the body by means of ropes, as seems to have been done in the mediæval charnel house in Wâdy er-Rabâbi at Jerusalem, the survivors who deposited the body entering the chamber by the ordinary entrance.

Approach to the chamber through the entrance is effected by (*a*) a simple drop, the height of the roof being here intentionally reduced; (*b*) a sloping gradient down which it is easy to walk; or (*c*) three or four roughly cut steps (sometimes mere "toe-holds") made in the side of the chamber under the doorway. In the few cases where the doorway is cut in the wall, there is always a drop to the floor, the entrance being high up in the side of the chamber. This, indeed, will be found to be also the case in the subsequent periods. The doorway was closed by a pile of large rough stones wedged into it, with earth covering all. Doors, whether of wood or of stone, are quite unknown.

Probably the chambers are, in the main, developments of natural caves, which accounts for their irregularity; though it is true that there is not one that does not display some sign of quarrying upon its walls. They are generally approximately circular on plan, and about 20 or 30 feet in diameter. The roof is either flat or curved upwards in a rude dome. Often a pillar (in one case two) is left in order to support the ceiling. In the majority of the tombs there is one chamber only, but some contain two, and a few three. In the last-named case the three rooms are either *en suite* or else the two inner rooms open independently from the entrance chamber. The internal doorways are all large openings, worked without art, with jambs and head cut so as to form a continuous curve. In one tomb there is a series of subordinate chambers and recesses recalling by their arrangement the *chevet* of a French cathedral apse.

Formal graves cut inside the chambers are rare. They are either benches against the walls, or pits sunk in the floor. The benches are from 1 to 2 feet high, and about 3 feet broad. Their upper surfaces are either flat or sunk slightly in the middle. In a few cases a shelf is cut into the wall of the chamber. *Kokîm* are quite unknown.

*Method of Sepulture.*—The bones of this period, though very rotten, are in not quite so hopeless a state as those from the tombs described in Part I. The bodies were laid on the side, with the knees drawn up under the chin. There is no rule of orientation, the heads of bodies in any one tomb pointing in every direction. The bodies, thus contracted, were placed on the rock-floor of the chamber, or on a platform of stones, or else, after the rains had washed silt through the ill-fitting heap of stones at the doorway, on the surface of the earth. Stones and earth were then laid over them. In tombs that have been in use for a long time the dead are often found in several layers, one above the other. It is curious that when special graves were provided in the chambers use was often not made of them; thus I sometimes found a cave with benches on which were no bones, while the floor between the benches contained a large number.

In one tomb the bodies were all placed in three small pits in the floor. Decomposition must have proceeded rapidly, as among the fragments in one of the pits were pieces of no less than six skulls, indicating the number of individuals buried in the receptacle. There is no evidence that the bones, once buried, were ever disturbed again in the tombs under discussion, as was the case in the Post-Exilic tombs. We are not justified, I think, in regarding these pits as in any way equivalent to ossuaries, and must believe that the six bodies were placed in the pit one after the other. As the pit is only 3 feet in diameter and 1 foot 6 inches deep, this would have been impossible unless the previously-buried bodies had in every case completely decayed.

In one exceptional case the body—that of a young person—had been laid on the back, with the tibiæ doubled under the femora.

*The Bodies.*—Hardly a single long bone could, with every care, be recovered whole, and almost all of those *in situ* had lost one or both ends by decay, so that they were useless for measurement. Of

the bones most subject to variation, the femora, it may be noticed, are almost always strongly pilastered, the tibiæ platycnemic. No perforated humeri were noticed. The skulls were nearly all imperfect; still, some measurements could be taken, with which, however, it is unnecessary to cumber the present report: they will all be properly tabulated in the final memoir. Three out of six skulls from one tomb were metopic; no other skull found in the graves of any period displayed this characteristic. On Plate II an attempt is made to realise the physiognomy of one or two individuals from this and succeeding periods. The outline of the skull in these diagrams has been drawn with the camera lucida, and used as a basis for filling in the features.

*Deposits.*—(A) *Religious Emblems.*—These are surprisingly few. A small amulet in green enamelled paste, of very common type, was

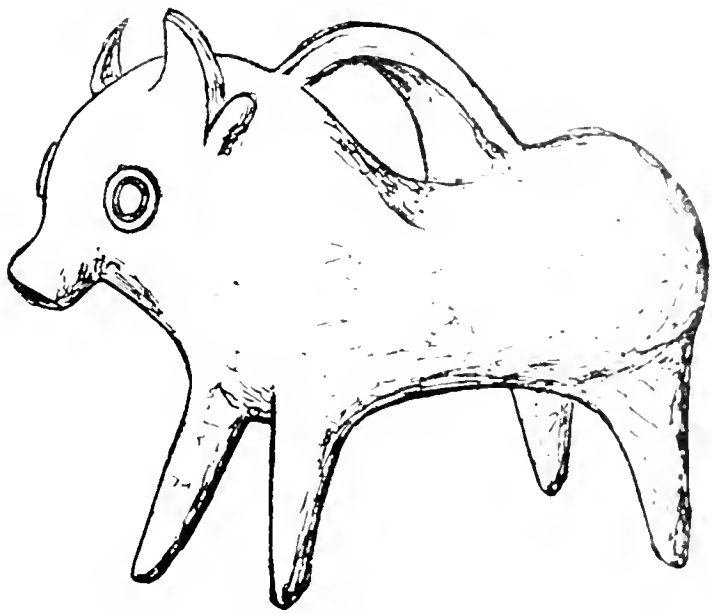


FIG. 3.—Representation of the Cow-Divinity.

found in one of the tombs on the eastern slope of the hill. It is Egyptian in origin, and represents Sekhet. Another tomb, on the northern slope, yielded a great quantity of pottery, jars, bowls, and lamps; among them were a figure of Ashtoreth in coarse yellow ware, and a representation of the cow divinity in the fine pottery commonly called "Phœnician." The former of these is very crude, and hardly suitable for reproduction in the *Quarterly Statement*; it is a vase in human form, the mouth of the vase being

the top of the head of the figure. The legs, which are solid, are disproportionately short, in order to waste as little space as possible from the internal capacity of the vessel. There is a fillet round the head, and bracelets round the wrists; otherwise the body is uncovered. The total height is 10 inches. The cow, shown in Fig. 3 (p. 331), is also hollow; the mouth of the vessel is at the back of the neck of the animal. There is a handle looping over the back. This object is 6½ inches long. It should be stated that the right horn and the forelegs are broken off the original; the fragments of the latter were recovered, but not the former, which is restored in the drawing.

One or two rude animal figures resembling those so commonly found in the *tell* were also found here and there. These may or may not have a religious significance.

(B) *Food and Drink.*—Offerings of food, and probably of drink also, were regularly deposited with the dead. In most of the tombs bowls containing bones of the food-animals were found. In others the rite seemed dwindling to a form, to judge from the minute quantity of meat that the smallness of the bones seem to imply: it is not, however, safe to build any very elaborate theory upon so slender a basis. That drink offerings were left may be assumed, though the indications are no longer so clear as in the previous group of tombs; in the one case where large jars were found they were lying on their sides, and the dipping jugs were not inside them. There were, however, in every tomb a great number of small jugs, resembling the dipping jugs, but placed independently and lying on their sides. These from their shape are obviously unsuitable for solid offerings—though it is true that small bones were found in one or two out of, perhaps, every 50 or 60 specimens—and being deposited horizontally without any stoppers could not have contained fluids. Possibly in this period the fluid offerings were ceremonially poured out, the vessel containing them being left behind in the tomb—either because the funeral use had consecrated it, or else from a materialistic idea of its being of use to the deceased. The enormous quantity of small vessels found in the tombs can only be explained as the accumulation due to many successive interments, at each of which a certain number had been left behind. Many of the deposited jugs were broken—a much larger proportion than in the Earlier period: either the idea had

grown up of liberating the ghost of the object that it might minister to the ghost of the deceased, to which end the vessel was intentionally injured; or more probably the spirit of economy, which reached its culmination in the Christian period, had begun to make its influence felt, and damaged jugs, worthless to the living, were offered to the dead. An idea of the quantity of the vessels found in the tombs will be obtained when I say that the cave which yielded the two divinity figures just described, contained a quantity of vessels of which I selected 76 for preservation there were at least as many broken duplicates which were not worth while keeping.

There was no special relation apparent between the pottery deposits and the position of the bodies in the cave. Indeed, a pile of pottery was often found in a corner of the cave which contained no bones at all. It may be remembered that, in the Early Semitic deposits that overlay the burnt remains in the Crematorium, by far the largest collection of pottery was found in an enclosure that showed no trace whatever of interments. It would seem that the food offerings were laid at a little distance from the bodies: contrast the curious arrangement sometimes found in Cyprus, in which the hand of the skeleton is actually placed in the dish of food. In one or two cases lamps were found beside the heads of the bodies. One lamp and bowl deposit was found.

(c) *Pottery.*—The types of the deposited pottery (apart from the question of the purpose of their deposition) must now be described. There is a noticeable preponderance of small vessels in contrast with the pottery of the earlier tomb deposits.[1] Much of the pottery—in some cases almost the majority—is of a very superior class of fine ware, which it is common to speak of as "Phœnician." The characteristics of this ware are—(1) A fine homogeneous clay, without grit or pebbles, generally burnt red; (2) thin sides to the vessels; (3) a slip, creamy white in most of the bowls, glossy dark brown (almost black) in most of the jugs, though the two are often interchanged; (4) in white bowls, a hemispherical body with rounded base and one "wishbone" handle, projecting horizontally from the rim; (5) in black bowls a cyma-shaped body with flat base, and a "wishbone" handle gracefully curved, set on the side below the rim; (6) in black jugs, a globular body with hollow base,

[1] [Representations of the types are reserved for the Memoir.]

slightly conical neck of considerable length, expanding at the top into a conical mouth and one handle, attached to the body and to the neck about a fourth of the way down its length—the neck, it should be said, is, by accident or design, always out of the perpendicular to a greater or less degree; (7) in the black ware a basket ornamentation in white lines; (8) in the white ware a ladder and lozenge ornamentation in black lines. There is a large number of individual varieties, the slip being sometimes slaty blue, with black or light brown painted lines, and in some effective examples dark brown, with dark Indian red lines. Perhaps it is hardly safe to use so definite a term as "Phœnician" to distinguish this ware, until more extensive researches in Phœnicia itself reveal facts which justify us in doing so; but as the term has become established and popularly understood, I shall here retain it, using inverted commas as an indication of the doubt in which I consider its true provenance to be involved. It may be nothing more than a superior variety of local ware.

Lamps occur in every tomb. These are of the type shown in the photograph (Fig. 1); the contrast between the lamps of the two periods has already been pointed out. The base is almost always rounded, very rarely with a projecting disc. Lamps with thick bases, common enough in the Shephêlah *tells* are in any case rare at Gezer, and in the tombs quite unknown.

(D) *Implements and Weapons.*—In the majority of the tombs little or nothing under this heading was found; a handful of bronze arrowheads representing the gleanings from the larger number. One cave, however, is conspicuous above all the others for the number and variety of its contents. Hardly any bones were found in the earth that filled it; one skull, in a very rotten condition, remained to show that there had been interments within it. In the first of the three chambers of which the cave consists, there is a hollow in the floor, oval in shape, 4 feet deep. This was full of vessels and sherds in pottery, including a fine "Phœnician" jar, 11¼ inches high, and many other pieces in the same ware. With them were 14 fine copper javelin heads, with long lozenge-sectioned tangs, and narrow leaf-shaped blades, about 4 to 5 inches long; fragments of a bronze sword; and, above all, a magnificent scimitar in the same metal, 23 inches long (Fig. 4). This fine weapon is quite unique in Palestine. The handle is flanged for receiving hafting

plates of ivory, of which the corroded traces are visible. Above this part is a straight portion, rectangular in section, above which is a curved blade ornamented with longitudinal ribbing. The cutting edge is on the convex side of the blade.

In the second chamber of this cave is a smaller pit, but it contained nothing. The earth above it, however, was rich in antiquities. From the whole cave (exclusive of the pit) no fewer than 131 javelin heads of the same type as those from the pit were extracted, as well as a bronze dagger, and an armlet of wire, twisted into a very ingenious plait. The pottery was of the same character as that from the pit; on the floor of the innermost chamber were five large jars, and with them a graceful three-handled vase, $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches high, decorated with spirals, apparently an imitation from a Mycenaean original. There was also a fragment of a bird-headed

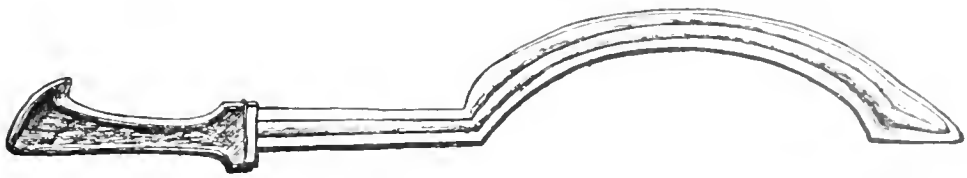


FIG. 4.—Bronze Scimitar.

rattle, like that figured in Bliss, *M.M.C.*, Fig. 175, and *Excavations in Palestine*, Plate XXXI, Fig. 13.

(E) *Clothing, Adornment, Amulets.*—These also are meagre. A few common-place bronze rings and bracelets are to be recorded, some of them found actually on the skeletons, and others apparently deposited, like the food-vessels, away from the dead. The bronze armlet of twisted wire has already been mentioned. In the same cave were some bracelets of glass, a material which, owing to its friable nature, is rarely found in such early remains. These are triangular in section, the base of the triangle being naturally towards the wrist, of white colour (possibly a result of chemical change), ornamented with stripes of yellow, blue, and green across the outer edge. There were also half-a-dozen pins, with thick club-like heads, these were deposited in the pit that yielded the scimitar. They are possibly shroud pins, such as are found in the later periods.

In Fig. 5 (p. 336) will be found drawings of a small collection of cylinders and scarabs from the tombs of this period. There are two Assyrian cylinders, found together in one of the tombs on the hill

to the south, and one Egyptian from another cave; the last is the only inscribed object from the whole series of Pre-Exilic tombs, if we except one of the two scarabs, which bears the ring of Psammetichus I. This scarab is in bone, which circumstance explains the rather amorphous drawing of the hieroglyphs. It is probably associated with a secondary interment. The other scarab is a relic of the middle kingdom, and was found in the same tomb—a striking example of the uncertainty attaching to dating by scarabs, especially in deposits not on Egyptian soil. The seal, which was found in the same tomb as the Assyrian cylinders, is of a well-known type. It is in rich blue glass; a fragment of the bronze

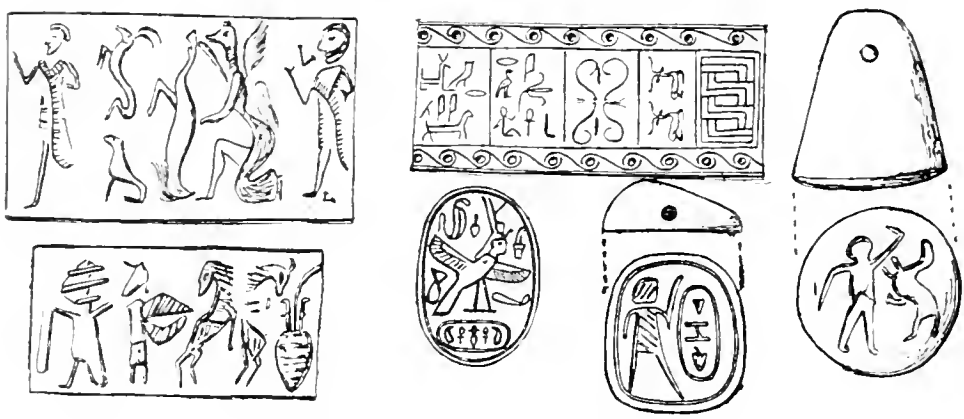


Fig. 5.—Cylinders and Seals.

wire by which it was once suspended still remains in the hole provided for it.

## Part III.—Maccabean Tombs.

*Situation and Number.*—There is only one exclusively Maccabean cemetery around Gezer—namely, on a little knoll of rock south of the hill, on the summit of which is the village threshing floor. The remaining tombs are scattered in various places, as the plan (Plate I) will show. In all, 35 of the tombs opened appear to be assignable to this period. Unlike the earlier tombs (the contents of which are less attractive to thieves, and which require more trouble to plunder as they are generally full of earth) the tombs of this and of the succeeding era have been greatly damaged in comparatively recent years by robbers.

*The Tomb Chambers.*—These are quarried with much greater art

than in the preceding periods. A fundamental difference is seen at once in the doorways, which are always vertical, cut in the side of the chamber, and never, as in the Hebrew period, cut in the roof.

In the absence of roof entrances the Gezer tombs resemble the contemporary tombs at Jerusalem. Those at Beit Jibrin are, however, quite different. There a square shaft, opening in the roof of the chamber, is the normal type; it is covered by long slabs which are practically unknown at Gezer.

As the tombs are excavated in the sides of gently sloping hills, it follows that some device had to be adopted in order to obtain a rock-scarp high enough to contain the outer face of the doorway. This is effected in one of two ways. In the small tombs that form the majority of the series a stairway is sunk in the rock in front of the place chosen for the door, from about 5 feet to about 8 feet deep, rectangular, and containing from one to eight steps. On the level of the lowest step the doorway is cut. By filling the stairway shaft with earth the tomb can be concealed. This stairway differs from the shafts of Canaanite tombs in being always rectangular, always provided with steps, and as a general rule shallower, longer, and narrower: the skill displayed is also much superior in the later graves.

The second method of obtaining a high rock-scarp consists in cutting a large open level court into the side of the hill, the depth of which, of course, gradually increases from front to back. This is the usual course adopted in the Jerusalem tombs, but at Gezer it is followed only in some half-dozen of the largest and most costly excavations. Above this forecourt or vestibule there was erected a monumental structure resembling in general character the familiar memorials in the Kedron Valley at Jerusalem. These, it is hardly necessary to say, have long since been pilfered, stone by stone, to build the tumble-down huts of ignorant and soulless fellahîn. Only one was found that still preserved any of the masonry—the two foundation courses on one side. It is interesting, though tantalising, to endeavour mentally to reconstruct these little shrines, which must have been exceedingly quaint and curious structures. The data for such a reconstruction are the masonry just alluded to—by far the finest and most carefully executed piece of building yet found on the *tell*—and the sinkings cut along the edge of the rock to receive the foundation-stones. This gives us at least

an idea of the outlines of the walls. Some conception can thus be gained of their plans, as the study of the indents of lost brasses in mediæval churches gives some idea of the design of the missing memorial.

The doorways are well cut, square (though sometimes underneath an arched recess) and rebated for stone covers. The cover is almost invariably a moveable flat slab, sometimes itself rebated, so that it fits the doorway as a glass stopper fits the neck of a bottle. Only in one tomb was a swinging stone door found; circular rolling stones seem to be unknown in this period, though two or three examples were found belonging to the next.

The doorway being always raised so as to be just under the roof of the chamber, there are always three or four steps inside leading down from it to the floor.

I have found it convenient in my notes to devise a nomenclature for the walls of the tomb-chambers which shall be independent of the cardinal points. The names I have found convenient are "door wall" for the side containing the entrance to the chamber from outside or from an outer chamber; "back wall" for the side opposite the door wall; and "right" and "left" wall for the side respectively to the right and left of a person entering from without.

The plans of the Gezer tombs are invariably simple. The maximum number of chambers is three, and even this is very exceptional; the great majority consist of one room only. False doors, passages imitating *kôkîm*, concealed cover-slabs, and all the other ingenious devices for misleading thieves which are so conspicuous a feature of the Jerusalem tombs, are never found at Gezer.

In all tombs of the Maccabean period the receptacles provided for the dead are *kôkîm*, that is, long narrow shafts running into the walls at right angles. These are round or (more commonly) square headed; triangular heads, as at Beit Jibrîn, are unknown. In another respect the *kôkîm* differ in the two places: those at Beit Jibrîn are nearly always rebated at the entrance for cover-slabs, which is not the case at Gezer. The *kôkîm* in the latter district do not appear to have been closed.

*Kôkîm*, as a rule, are only adapted for one body each, though sometimes they are wide enough for two. At Gezer they are often

singularly short, and can only have partially received the body, which must have projected into the chamber. In some cases pairs of adjacent *kôkim* are, as it were, extended into the tomb chamber by a prolongation of the partition between them in the form of a dwarf wall. I have never seen anything analogous at either Jerusalem or Beit Jibrîn.

In all the best executed tombs, as at Jerusalem, the *kôkim* are not on the level of the floor, but of that of a bench that runs round the wall, about 1 foot high and 2 feet across.

The normal number of *kôkim* in a chamber is nine, three on each wall except the door wall. There are sometimes six only, two in each wall. In one there are eight, four on each of the side walls, the back wall being occupied by two doors leading to subsidiary chambers. In one or two there are additional *kôkim* in the door wall, on each side of and below the level of the entrance; in one there are *kôkim* running diagonally from the angles of the chamber.

There is one unique chamber in which the walls are cut back into a series of apses, from each of which *kôkim* radiate. In the previous section I mentioned a tomb recalling the *chevet* at the east end of a French cathedral. The same comparison might be used in this case: it is not a little curious that the two tombs are side by side, and, indeed (by the accidental prolongation of one of the *kôkim*), actually communicate. Possibly the later tomb is an adaptation of a previously existing Hebrew tomb. In any case it remains quite exceptional.

*Kôkîm* in more than one row, as in the unusual case of the "Tombs of the Judges" at Jerusalem, are never found at Gezer. At Jerusalem there are countless examples of tomb-chambers containing both *kôkim* and arcosolia, but of this there are only two examples at Gezer. One of these is quite insignificant, as it contains but one *kôk*.

Where there is more than one chamber the subsidiary apartment *may* contain *kôkim*, but as a general rule it is merely a small, plain store-room designed for the reception of the ossuaries, of which I shall speak directly.

*Method of Sepulture.*—This was very simple. The body, probably arrayed in a shroud fastened with pins, and decked with cheap ornaments, is placed at full length in the *kôk*, head inwards.

The pottery and other objects deposited were either placed with the body inside the *kôk*, or else ranged against the wall of the chamber, or against the side of the bench running round the room.

It is clear that in a tomb-chamber with nine *kôkîm*, after nine interments—or if the *kôkîm* were large, after 18—the receptacles would all be filled up, and the tomb would be useless for future burials. Sepulture on the floor of the chamber, as in the ruder pre-exilic days, was never thought of in the Maccabean or Christian epochs. The family owning the tomb would therefore be obliged to cut new chambers, or to remove the remains of the earlier interments. The expense involved in quarrying chambers was, in most cases, sufficient to determine them to follow the latter plan.

The custom of removing the bones of the dead to make room for new interments, though at first sight singular, is by no means confined to one period in the history of Palestine, or even exclusively to Palestine itself. In Cong Abbey in Galway, to mention but one instance, is an exact analogy: this is an ossuary chamber, where bones found in the course of digging graves in the overcrowded cemetery are placed. In some villages of Mount Lebanon an even more primitive custom prevails. There the dead are buried in a series of caves, which, when full, are sealed one by one. When all are thus closed, the first is reopened, the bones it contains are cleared out and thrown away, and the cave is then ready for fresh interments. The rotation occupies a sufficiently long time to allow for the complete decomposition of the bodies before the cave is required again.

The bones in the Gezer caves were collected and deposited with greater or less care in the stone chests, which are well known under the name of "ossuaries." At a very early stage in the examination of the Gezer tombs an observation was made, which subsequent developments proved to be an absolutely invariable rule, namely, that ossuaries are *never* found in tomb-chambers that have no *kôkîm*, and are found in *all* unrifled chambers that display those receptacles. This rule does not seem of universal application. I know nothing of ossuaries from Beit Jibrîn, and am not sure that they were in use there at all; at Jerusalem ossuaries have, I believe, been found in tombs with arcosolia. It was, however, striking that if at

Gezer the least scrap of an ossuary made its appearance in clearing out a tomb-chamber full of earth, it was quite safe to prophesy that *kôkim* would be discovered when the wall surface was exposed.

Only two of a large number of ossuaries could possibly have been intended for the bones of more than one person. These measured 3 feet 4 inches by 1 foot 2 inches by 1 foot. The average measurements were, at Gezer, about 2 feet by 9 inches by 8 inches. On the whole they are rather shallower than ossuaries from Jerusalem. Some measuring about 1 foot in length are so small that they must have been intended for children.

In filling the ossuaries the long bones were ranged at the bottom, and the other bones placed over them. In one a small bottle of blue glass had been placed with the bones, and an occasional worthless bronze bracelet was found, but otherwise nothing but the bones was deposited within them. In many no care seems to have been taken to arrange the bones neatly, or even to avoid breaking them. About half of the ossuaries found had no lids, the others had flat, hog-backed, or roof-shaped covers.

The sides of the ossuaries are either plain (the majority) or ornamented with painted or incised lines. The paint used is invariably a dull brick red, and the coloured decoration consists of very roughly drawn frets, zigzags, and other simple geometrical patterns, or else of a uniform wash over the whole surface of the box. At Jerusalem a collection of ossuaries is an interesting study, on account of the almost endless variety of ornamental patterns they display,[1] but at Gezer there is no such variety. That dullest and most mechanical of conventional ornaments, the sexfoil in a circle, made by stepping a compass with fixed radius round the circumference, is the universal basis of the decoration, and almost the only differences between the different specimens lie in the number of such circles, and the exact disposition of the zigzags with which the interspaces are filled. Even this uninspired decoration is confined to one side and one end of the case. In roof-shaped lids there is sometimes a rosette on one pediment, but otherwise the lid never displays ornament except occasional painted lines.

[1] A selection of types of ossuary ornamentation will be found illustrating a paper in the *Reliquary* for July last.

Inscribed ossuaries are common at Jerusalem, and accordingly every fragment of ossuary was carefully cleaned in the hope of finding writing. This search was meagrely rewarded by two Hebrew graffiti, in each case the name and parentage of the original owners of the bones deposited in the boxes. Both of these inscriptions came from one tomb, where was a large hoard of ossuaries, about 20 in number, all badly broken. Many had decoration, rather more elaborate but not more interesting than the usual commonplaces. It is curious that one of the two inscribed ossuaries was that of a child. We can but guess why the child's name was preserved and those of the 18 or 20 adults allowed to pass into oblivion.


FIG. 6.—Ossuary Inscriptions.

Possibly his bones were the only child's remains in the tomb when the sepulchre was cleared, and so were easily identified; or possibly he was the nearest relative, or an object of special affection to the person who emptied the *kôkîm*. Facsimiles of the inscriptions, traced from rubbings, are shown in Fig. 6. They commemorate respectively "Saro, son of Eliezer" (the child), and "Hanun, son of Jechoni." The names Eliezer and Hanun, are found in the Old Testament, but not the others.[1]

[1] [סרו suggests a connection with the Palmyrene סרי (שרי). יחוני, probably from יחוניה, "may Yah be gracious," *cp.* Hananiah, &c., is interesting because it illustrates the custom of giving children names related in form to those of their kinsmen (*see* G. B. Gray, *Hebrew Proper Names*, p. 8, *sq.*).—ED.]

When filled with the bones the ossuaries were deposited either in a special ossuary chamber, or when such a place was not provided, on the floor of the tomb-chamber. Sometimes they were piled up, to their destruction; for the stone, already soft, is ruined by the damp, and the box is cracked and crushed even by the weight of its own lid, to say nothing of other objects placed upon it. A few lidless ossuaries were placed standing on end against the wall, which offered a rough and ready substitute for a cover. In one or two tombs the very purpose for which ossuaries were provided was defeated by placing them in the *kôkîm*; in one remarkable case a tomb-chamber was found to contain 11 *kôkîm*, nearly every one full of ossuaries, placed end to end. There were also several in the middle of the floor of the chamber.

*The Bodies.*—Not many bones from the tombs of this period were recovered in a complete state. The measurements will be given in the memoir; I cannot see that they display any peculiarity calling for special notice in the present report.

The deposits in the Maccabean tombs differ little from those in the Christian tombs, and space will be saved by describing both together.

## Part IV.—Christian Tombs.

*Situation and Number.*—The Christian tombs are almost all concentrated to the south of the modern village—an indication that this was the dwelling place of the community to which they belonged. They are clustered in great numbers on the hill slope under the great cave known as Mughâret el-Jaihah. In all 38 tombs of this period have been examined.

*The Tomb-Chambers.*—In general design these do not differ greatly from those of the previous period, and save for the following points of difference the description already given would apply to these also. The great forecourt is not found, nor are there any traces of memorial buildings, except in one example, which is in other respects anomalous. In one or two cases the roof, instead of being flat, is vaulted. In three cases there is or was a small rolling stone closing the door. The main distinction between Maccabean and Christian tombs, however, lies in the substitution of arcosolia for *kôkîm*. A few Christian interments were found in tombs with *kôkîm*, but the distinction is usually so sharply

maintained that in every case the Christian burials are probably secondary adaptations of Maccabean tombs, the previous occupants having been unceremoniously cleared out.

The arcosolia are on the whole wider than at Jerusalem, being as a rule adapted for more than one person. The normal plan allows three, one in each wall except the door wall. Usually the arcosolia are single benches ranged in a row round the chamber; but they are often grouped in threes around a small rectangular bay with vaulted roof running at right angles to the chamber. In one exceptionally fine tomb there are a number of the more ordinary arcosolia, and two benches in a chamber of this kind. These were possibly for the heads of the family who owned the tomb.

The tables of the arcosolia are either flat or slightly sunk below the edge, or in rare instances turned into fixed sarcophagi by being hollowed out to about the level of the chamber floor. This is the most common form of grave at Beit Jibrîn, but at Gezer it is very unusual.[1] Cover slabs are universally laid over the Beit Jibrîn tombs, but at Gezer I found one example only.

At Jerusalem the Christian tombs often display a cross, but only two of the Gezer Christian tombs bore that symbol. Another had a rude linear representation of the seven-branched candlestick, and another two marks resembling Ordnance survey bench marks inverted, and difficult to explain. Inscriptions seem never to have been cut on the walls or doorways.

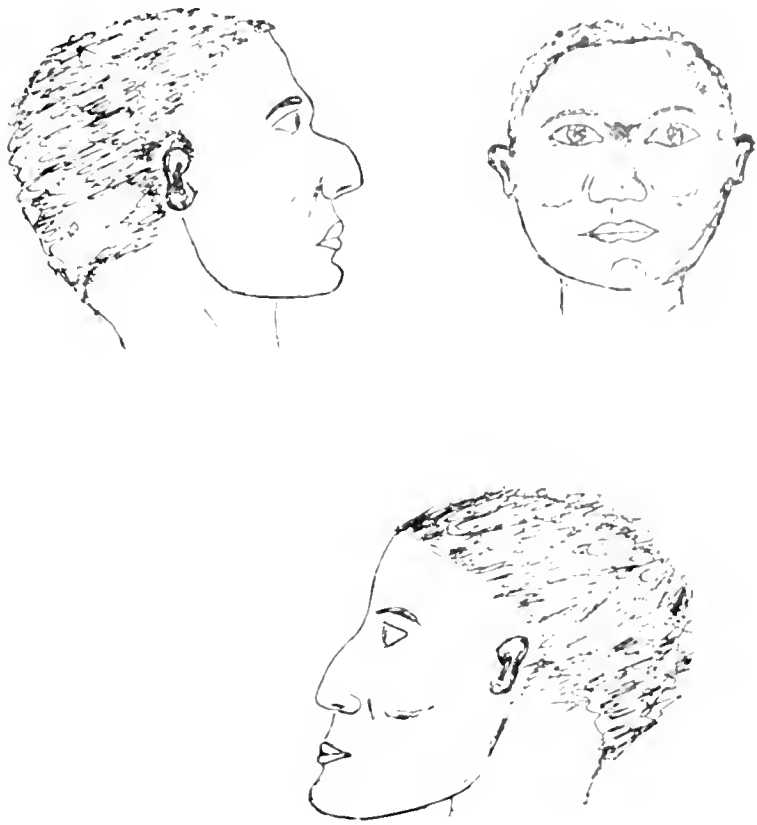
*Method of Sepulture.*—The body, wrapped in a shroud, was laid at full length on the arcosolium. There was obviously no account taken of orientation, as the arcosolia themselves point in all directions: the same remark, of course, applies to *kôkim*. Though at one end there is almost always a slightly raised step or bench, meant as a support for the head of the corpse, the interment is sometimes so carelessly performed that the feet rest upon it.

The difficulty which led to the invention of ossuaries was solved in a different manner in the Christian tombs, where (at Gezer, though not at Jerusalem) ossuaries are quite abandoned.

[1] The discovery of such a tomb is probably the historic basis (if there be any historic basis) for the singular story of the tomb of Moses recently reprinted in the *Quarterly Statement*.

# EXCAVATION OF CEZER

## GEZERITE FACIAL TYPES



PRE-EXILIC

POST-EXILIC

In tombs with arcosolia either the bodies were piled one above another on each bench till they could hold no more, so that a receptacle meant for two might possibly be made to bear five or six; or else one of the arcosolia was set aside to serve the purpose of an ossuary, and all the dried bones piled up upon it without any attempt at arrangement or order.

*The Bodies.*—A fine collection of bones from tombs of this period has been formed, and they are still under examination. For the present it will suffice to say that the characteristics already given for the Hebrew bones require to be reversed in order to apply to those of the Christians. The femora are not very conspicuously pilastered, nor are the tibiæ platycnemic. Perforated humeri are fairly common. The facial type, which I have endeavoured to realise on the lower part of Plate II (p. 345), is remarkably uniform, the deep nasal notch, concave nose, and wide face being specially constant features: so also is the rectilinear setting of the lower incisors. This type is distinctly in the minority among the modern inhabitants. The race was not unmixed with other blood. One skull seems to me to be that of a negro.

On the whole they were not a healthy people. The large number of undeveloped bones proves that infant mortality was very considerable. Several of the bones are pathologically interesting. The right humerus, femora, fibulæ, and left tibia of one man showed changes due to advanced periostitis probably syphilitic in origin. For this information I am indebted to Drs. Wheeler and Masterman, who examined the specimens.

*Deposits in Maccabean and Christian Tombs.*—(A) *Religious Emblems.*—Possibly the Syrian occupation of the city under Bacchides is responsible for a figurine of Ashtoreth from one of the Maccabean tombs, displaying a conception of the mother-goddess no less crude than we find in pre-exilic strata. No other trace of Ashtoreth worship has been found in post-exilic Gezer: an analogous, but much more refined, statuette was discovered in a contemporary tomb at Tell Sandaḥannah (see *Excavations in Palestine*, p. 139).

In the Christian tombs religious emblems are less common than might have been expected. Figures of crosses are confined to the ornamentation of lamps, and have not been found independently. The two seal-rings in bronze (Fig. 7) are the most interesting objects from Christian tombs. They bear a male and a female head

respectively. There can be little doubt that the former represents our Lord; the second, probably, is meant for the Virgin Mary. The tomb-deposits which included the first of these were dated by a coin about 350 A.D. The coin, unfortunately, was much defaced; for examining and dating it I must record my obligations to Dr. Merrill, U.S. Consul at Jerusalem.

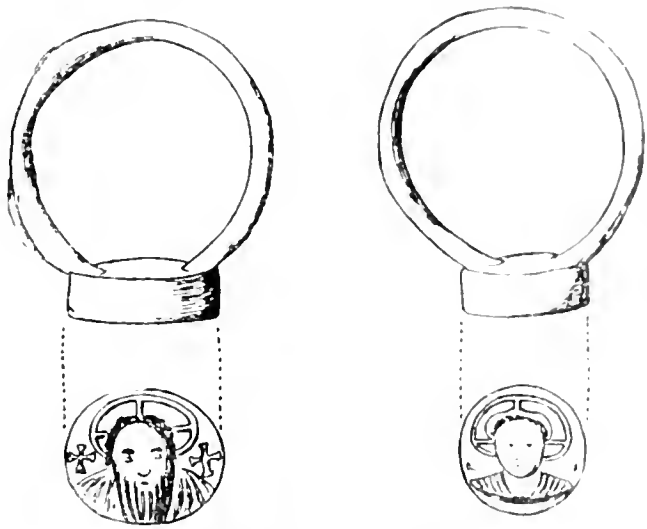


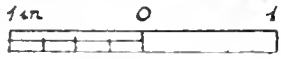
FIG. 7.—Bronze Signet Rings.

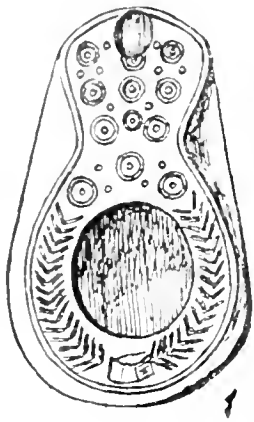
(B) *Food and Drink.*—In a few of the Maccabean tombs cooking pots (as Plate IV, Fig. 3) were found, but whether it is safe to base any theories upon them regarding the deposition of food is problematical. I am inclined to think that the practice had been abandoned.

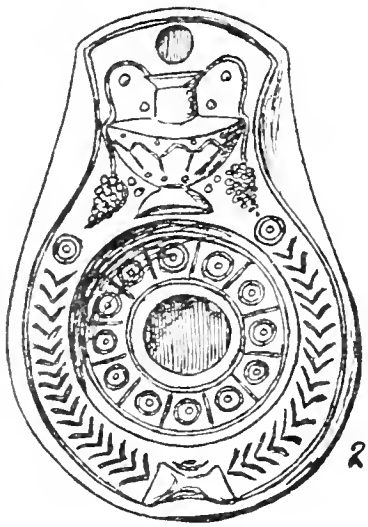
(C) *Pottery and Glass.*—Except the few cooking pots in the earlier tombs, pottery dwindles in importance after the Exile. In two cases large water-jars were found just inside the door (connected with lustration ?). Lamps, however, are found in every tomb, sometimes in large numbers. A very small selection of these are drawn on Plate III (p. 348). Fig. 5 represents a form practically confined to the Maccabean tomb; the shapes of Figs. 1–3 are common to tombs of both epochs, while the shapes of Figs. 6–9 are more commonly found in Christian tombs. Simple patterns like Fig. 8 recur with monotonous frequency; but there is an endless variety of ornament, and hardly a tomb was opened that did not add one or two new types to the record. Figs. 1–3, with some 20 or 30 others, many of them equally elaborate, came from one tomb. The inscribed lamp (Fig. 6) is interesting, as, with the exception of the

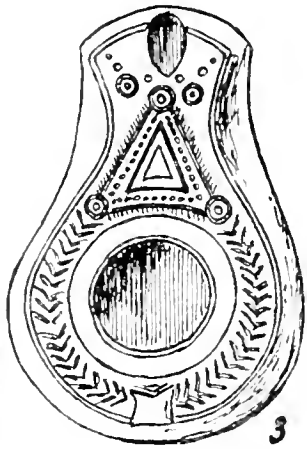
# EXCAVATION OF GEZER

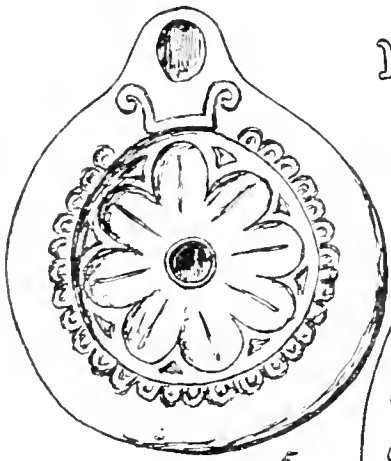
LAMPS

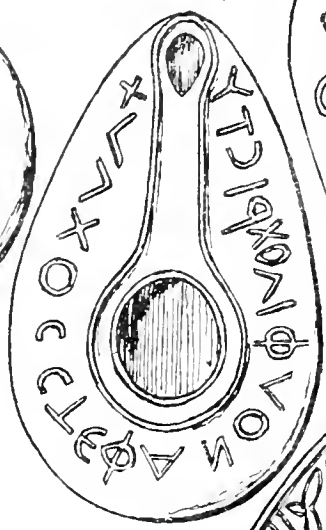


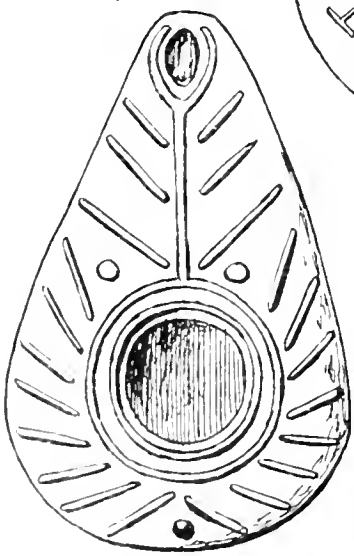








two ossuary inscriptions, its legend is actually the only memorial found in the whole series of over 100 tombs. The inscription reads, Λύχ⟨ν⟩ος Στεφάνου Φιλοχρίστου, "The lamp of Stephanos Philochristos"; and as it is reasonable to presume that it was buried with its owner, we are thus enabled to put a name on the tomb where it was found. This tomb was one of the richest of any period; the deposits drawn out cover three large sheets of drawings. A coin found within it is assigned by Dr. Merrill to Constans (337–350) or Constantius II (337–361). The magnificent lamp, Plate III, Fig. 9, came from the same tomb.

A few other inscribed lamps were found. The Hebrew inscription, Plate III, Fig. 4, was stamped on the bottom of a lamp found in a Maccabean tomb, of type similar to Fig. 5. The letters seem to spell האר בצן, whatever that may mean.[1] Numerous examples of the common inscription ΦΩC XY ΦEN ΠACIN, most of them strangely blundered, have come to light, and one bearing an inscription new to me, KC ΦΩTICMOC MOY, "The Lord is my light." In the lamp figured (Plate IX, Fig. 7) notice how the potter has ingeniously concealed the letters PROP (perhaps his initials) among the ornamental scrolls. This is the only Roman inscription found at Gezer. Of the inscription ΛYXNAPIA KAΛA, common in Jerusalem, not one specimen appeared.

No doubt these lamps had partly the practical purpose of giving light to the persons who conducted the burial, but the number found shows that this was not the only end they served. It is likely that some ceremonial use still survived from the older customs. Importance seems to have been attached to the *position* of the lamps within the chambers: at least, it was very noticeable that frequently a lamp was placed exactly in each corner of the apartment, on the floor, just against the sides of the surrounding bench. Evidently such care would not have been taken had the lamps been intended merely to light the tomb. Lamp brackets in the sides of the tombs are not very common.

Glass now assumes primary importance as a tomb deposit. The vessels in glass, at Gezer, are neither so numerous nor so handsome in the Maccabean as in the Christian period. The commonest form is a hemispherical bottle, with slightly hollow base, and a neck some-

[1] [?? האר בטב, as though "one sees well," an Aramaic legend.—Ed.]

times extravagantly long and narrow. Specimens are found of all sizes, from 1 inch to 6 or 7 inches high. They are probably ointment pots; though it is quite within the region of possibility that my untutored labourers may be right in calling them candlesticks, a purpose they would admirably serve.

Though as we have said food deposits are not found in the post-exilic tombs, a yet more curious and less intelligible form of deposit becomes highly developed. This is that of toilet requisites. We saw that in one of the earliest of the tombs opened an Egyptian cosmetic pot was found. Nothing analogous could be identified in any of the tombs of the Hebrew period: except for the one Egyptian vessel, which is not absolutely certain, the custom seems, at Gezer, to be a post-exilic development. The decking out of the corpse with the ornaments that had been its property during life, and the deposition of costly offerings with it in the tomb, are intelligible expressions of human affection; but it is difficult to conceive the psychological condition that induces a community to evolve the idea that the decaying dead had need of toilet requisites, though at the same time rejecting the ancient idea that they had need of food offerings to sustain them.

However that may be, the fact remains that now for the first time glass kohl pots make their appearance in the tombs, in some cases with spatulæ inserted, intended for the application of that singularly repulsive cosmetic. These pots are either small single vessels ornamented with pinched-in sides, or else double vessels, with handles at the sides, or a single handle looping over the top. These double vessels are one of several classes of receptacles to which it seems hopeless to expect that people will cease to attach the preposterous name "tear-bottles."

The best pieces of glass—none, be it admitted very remarkable—came from tombs of the Christian period. Except a three-handled beaker and a handsome little vase from the tomb of Stephanos, nothing out of the common was discovered. The beaker is probably a cosmetic vase, for the curious fashion of depositing kohl pots and spatulæ still persists. The standing tube in the middle of the vessel is probably a socket for receiving a bronze spatula. The vessel had originally three handles, two of which happened to break off. One of these was never replaced; instead of the other a fine handle of quite different glass, and evidently originally made for quite a different style of vessel, was fastened on.

The rough and ready repair just mentioned of course detracted from the value of this vessel—already less than it might have been, as owing to careless workmanship it was not made truly symmetrical. This leads me to speak of a strange characteristic of these late deposits—their parsimoniousness. Very seldom indeed was a vessel of glass found perfect, if we except certain common and presumably inexpensive forms. All the best vases were broken, and that they were deposited in that state, and not destroyed by subsequent accidents (*e.g.*, the fall of fragments from the roof), was shown by the absence of some of the pieces even from tombs that had never been opened since the last interment had been made in them. In fact, a yet further depth of meanness was reached in several of the latest sepulchres, where bits of glass were placed with the dead that did not even pretend to belong to each other. In one grave were 15 such pieces, as disconnected as might so many fragments be if picked at random from the top of a wall. Had there been other objects of greater value placed in the tomb with them I should have suspected that they had been intended to wound the fingers of unwary plunderers—a purpose that I happen to know they well serve—like the poisoned thorns in the Chinese treasure of one of Mr. Wells's short stories: but as there was nothing of the kind, we must regard this collection of fragments as an economical attenuation of the custom of depositing glass vessels with the dead.

I may here refer to a class of object that first makes its appearance in the Maccabean tombs. This is a small box of limestone, of which I have already described and illustrated a specimen in a previous report (January, 1904, p. 25). One example, ornamented with a roughly drawn bird and a ship has since come to light from a Maccabean tomb, and several from Christian sepulchres. In describing the example first found, I ventured on the guess that it was a portable altar, arguing from an analogous object found at Beit Jibrin. My faith in this interpretation, never very strong, was shaken by a distinguished Babylonian explorer, who kindly wrote to me on the subject, making a counter suggestion derived from his experience that the object might have been a jeweller's furnace. It was not easy to come to any decision on the subject while one specimen only was known, and that one broken and found mixed with waste rubbish in the corner of an outside vestibule. As more specimens appeared, however, it became clear that the object, whatever it

might be, must have some more radical connection with burial than my correspondent's suggestion allowed. At last a perfect example was found *in situ*, containing charcoal and an ash deposit much resembling the deposit left by incense. The meaning of these strange objects then became clear. The atmosphere of decomposition in the chambers while they were still in use must have been sometimes unspeakable, and if it happened to be necessary to open a chamber for a fresh interment before the bodies previously buried had fully decayed, some neutralising agent must have been required for the comfort of those whose duty compelled them to enter the tomb-chamber.

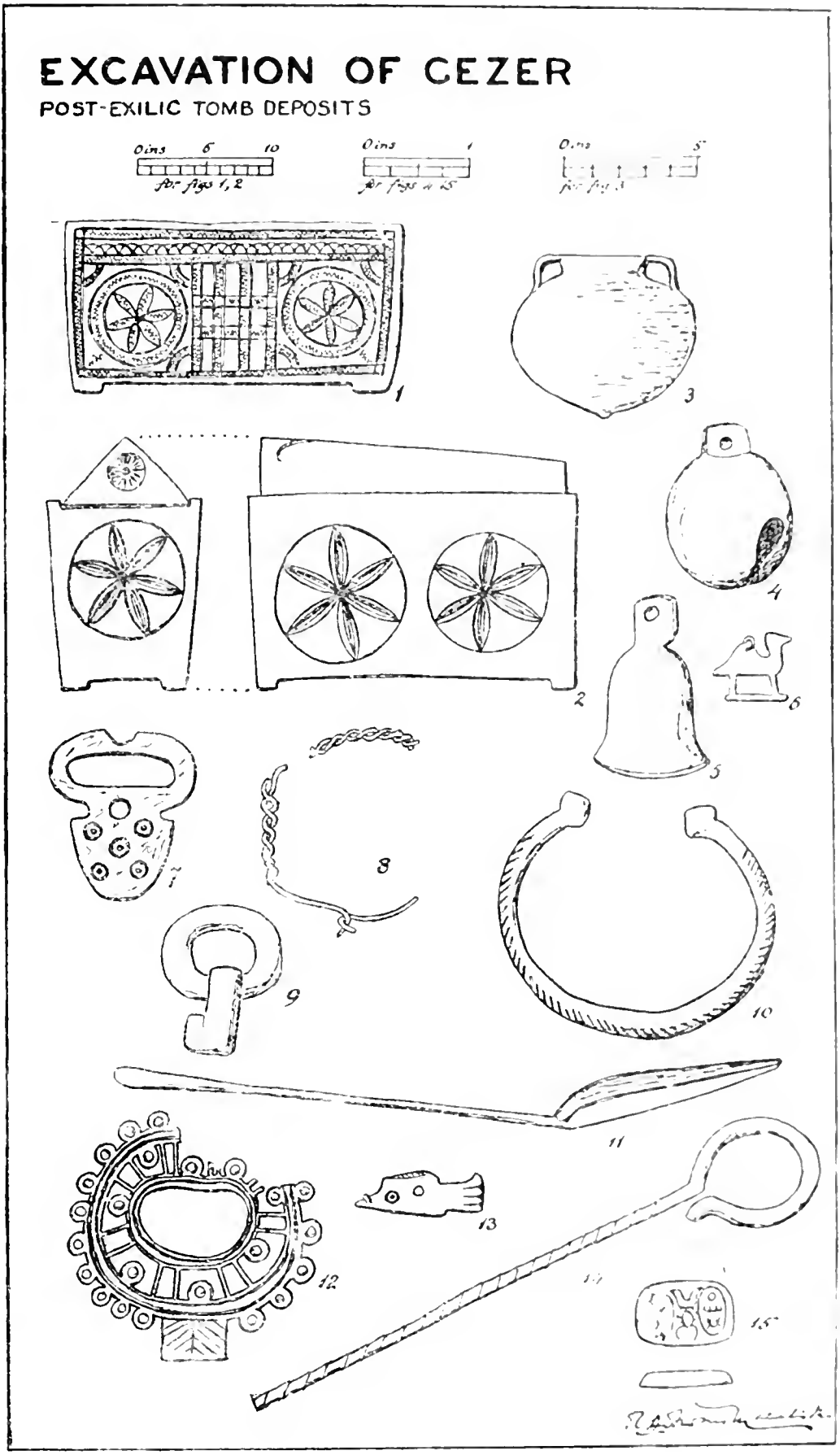
(D) *Implements and Weapons.*—A few bronze and iron arrow-heads, and iron knives, are found from time to time, but these are not common. The spatulæ of bronze, already referred to, are very common in tombs of both periods. A typical example will be found, Plate IV, Fig. 11. Fig. 14 on the same Plate is a pin of glass, possibly also meant for applying kohl. Fig. 9 is one of a number of small keys that were not uncommon.

(E) *Clothing, Adornment, Amulets.*—The dead were wrapped in shrouds, which, of course, have completely decayed; the bronze pins with which they were fastened remain. Other garments and ornaments were also left on the body. Belt-buckles (Plate IV, Fig. 7) of bronze, and bracelets, of which Figs. 8, 10, represent two specimens out of many, are universal. So are beads, of which there is an immense variety; I cannot at present, for want of space, attempt to give any description of the various types. The feet were probably shod; the leather has all vanished, but the small shoe-tacks remain. Large nails found in the graves admit the possibility of some sort of coffin having sometimes been used, but in any case this must have been exceptional. In one tomb where the conditions, whatever they may have been, had kept the chamber unusually dry, I noticed on the face of one of the skulls some minute fragments of a substance resembling leather, which crumbled when touched. It is possible that this was a chance survival of a little of the skin of the face, but more probable that it was part of a mask with which the face of the corpse had been covered.

A large number of iron rings and bracelets were also found. There were many iron finger-rings with signets, but corrosion had entirely eaten away the design in every case, if indeed a design ever existed.

# EXCAVATION OF GEZER

## POST-EXILIC TOMB DEPOSITS



Coins, always the smallest copper pieces available, were common in the Christian tombs. They all, so far as could be deciphered, belonged to the fourth century, with one or two stray exceptions. A few of the latest tombs yielded Byzantine coins.

Gold was not found at all in the Maccabean tombs, and in the Christian tombs was limited to two small earrings and two beads. Lead (possibly a cheap substitute for tomb use) was found as an ornamental metal. The ornamental object (Plate IV, Fig. 12) is in that material.

The frequency with which small bells of bronze (whether of the ordinary shape or closed sheep-bells, *see* Figs. 4, 5, of Plate IV) is very remarkable, and not easy to explain. They may simply have been a popular ornament, like rings or bracelets.

Of amulets I may select for special mention the little figure of a camel (Christian) cut from a flat disc of bronze, of which two specimens were found (Plate IV, Fig. 6); the fish in ebony (Maccabean), Fig. 13; the scaraboid in white paste, with the ring of Tahatmes III, of course, a late revival (Christian), Fig. 15; and the little yellow glass pendant (Fig. 8, below), bearing stamped

FIG. 8.—Inscribed Glass Amulet.

upon it in reversed letters the inscription *εὐτυχῶς τῷ φοροῦντι*, "with good luck to the wearer!"

In addition to tombs, the hill-slopes searched were found to contain cisterns, olive-presses (including a splendid example with a floor in white mosaic), and one columbarium, the first found in this neighbourhood. For the present, however, I must hold over the description of these antiquities.

# SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES ON THE EIGHTH REPORT.

(*Quarterly Statement*, pp. 191, *ante*.)

P. 195. *The Seventh Stone in the High Place Alignment.* With reference to the observation that this stone may have come from Jerusalem, and the suggestion that it may have been a battle trophy, it is at least an interesting coincidence that we learn from two letters from 'Abd-Hiba in the Tell el-Amarna collection that there was an enmity between Gezer and Jerusalem (Nos. 180, 183). The Jebusite sheikh informs the Pharaoh that the Gezerites are in league with the latter's enemies, as the surest means of turning him against them. This certainly is an indication that 'Abd-Hiba had a private grudge against the town complained of.

P. 220. *Pottery Objects.*—Bowls with pomegranates (or similar objects) and birds modelled alternately on the rim are found in Cyprus, *see* Myres and Richter's *Catalogue of the Cyprus Museum*, Plate II, Fig. 44, where cups take the place of pomegranates.

P. 223. *Metal Objects.*—The lead pellet is a *glans* or bullet for use in a sling.[1]

P. 237. *The Provenance of the Tablet.*—The following facts will, I hope, convince any doubters that the tablet published in the last report really belongs to Gezer :—

(1) I doubt whether an Arab workman could obtain a broken cuneiform tablet in Jerusalem without difficulty. I have only heard of one specimen of cuneiform writing coming into the market there during the last five years. This, there is every reason to believe, was a forgery, but the dealer modestly demanded £10 for it.

(2) No one profited pecuniarily by the discovery except the labourer in whose section of the trench the object was found. He had no idea of the nature of the object, which he seemed to think was a sort of file or nutmeg-grater. I assessed a very moderate *bakhshish* for the find, with which he was perfectly contented.

(3) The tablet was not extracted from the ground by the labourer, but by the foreman, who is a reliable man, and who

[1] [Professor Petrie, who had also written to this effect, remarks that hundreds of these Greek sling bullets are found in Egypt. He suggests that the anchor with which they are stamped may be the Seleucidan Government mark.—Ed.]

brought it to me in the tents without having cleaned the earth still clinging to it.

(4) When I first began the excavation I was troubled a little by attempts at "salting," but the total ignorance of the fellaḥîn as to the nature and relative chronology of antiquities made such attempts pathetically futile. When they found that a man who "discovered" a Cufic coin, or a modern apothecaries' weight, or a scrap of Byzantine carving in early Amorite débris, was promptly dismissed, these tricks soon came to an end. That fortune favoured a hypothetical "salter" in the present case to the extent of leading him to deposit an inscription (not knowing it to be such) in exactly the proper stratum is simply unthinkable. Though I confess that my own knowledge of cuneiform is limited to some 30 or 40 of the commonest signs as conventionalised in printed books, and that I was unable to decipher a word of the inscription, yet I could have given the date, correct to within 200 years, when first reporting the discovery, had I seen any necessity for doing so; arguing from the evidence of the associated antiquities.

(5) There is one more argument, from internal evidence, which may be valid. If the governor's name be really Egyptian, the tablet reveals exactly the state of matters that we might have expected to find in Gezer at the time. Egypt still retains the suzerainty over the city which she has had since the days of Solomon (for it is not to be supposed that the giving of the city as a dowry to Solomon's Egyptian wife at all implied handing it over to Solomon himself); but the power of Assyria has grown to such an extent that the Egyptian "mayor" is under the thumb of a domineering Assyrian garrison, and is of so little account that his name comes fifth on the list of witnesses.

This, of course, assumes that Ḫurwasi was actually mayor *of Gezer*. Mr. Johns says that "undoubtedly the scribe said of what town he was mayor," but the name of the town is lost by the fracture of the tablet. I would ask, entirely to elicit information and without any thought of offering criticism, whether it is necessary to assume a lost town name? The tablet is certainly fractured at the point indicated, but after a careful examination of the original, and in view of the clumsiness of cuneiform script, I should like to be assured that there is sufficient room in the fracture for any probable word following *ḫazanu*. If the scribe merely named "Ḫurwasi the mayor" without qualification, the probability that

he was mayor of the town in which the tablet was written would be strengthened.

P. 210. *The Inscribed Weight.*—On reconsidering the question, I have come to the conclusion that the symbols as represented on p. 209 are printed upside down, and that they should be given as ꝏI, ꝏII, ꝏL, and ꝏ⊥. Semitic syntax requires the numeral to precede the substantive in all ordinary cases, and Semitic epigraphy requires the writing to read in the direction from right to left. Both these requirements are satisfied by adopting this suggestion, and the resemblance to the Greek abbreviation, which I still regard as misleading, disappears.[1]

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## INSCRIBED WEIGHTS.

By Professor A. H. Sayce, LL.D.

In his last report (*Quarterly Statement*, July, 1904, p. 209), Mr. Macalister describes a fresh weight, found by himself at Gezer, with a character upon it which he erroneously identifies with the late Greek cursive ꝏ. With this, however, it can of course have nothing to do. It is, in fact, the Cypriote ⊠ *ro*, and the inscriptions quoted by him read *ro* I, *ro* II, *ro* IV (?), and *ro* VIII (?). The last (No. 6) is incorrectly given, since the facsimile published in *Excavations at Jerusalem*, p. 267, has ꝏ⊥, not ⊤. In Cypriote, Λ has been supposed to represent the numeral V, but it would appear from Mr. Macalister's argument that it ought rather to be IV, unless, indeed, V is IV and Λ is V. At the same time IIII and III IIII are found in Cypriote texts. Another Cypriote numeral is ⊥, which Mr. Macalister suggests may represent $\frac{3}{4}$. ⊥ has not yet been met with in

[1] [Mr. Macalister accompanied his paragraph with a defence of his interpretation of the inscribed weight which we have held over. Now that the amounts of the weights are published, Professor Petrie writes that he fully agrees that the sign ꝏ must have another and earlier meaning beside that of *uncia*.—Ed.]

Cyprus. It is noticeable that, like the name of the weight itself, all the numerical ciphers denote characters involving the vowel *o*, ⊥ being *o*, Λ *ko*, and ┼ *lo*. The only exception is V, which would be *sa*, if we are not to regard the sign as a form of Λ.

The name of the weight is found on Cypriote coins. On one weighing 2·52 gr., and representing, perhaps, the quarter-stater, we have simply *ro* (*see* de Luynes *Numismatique et Inscriptions Cypriotes*, II, Nos. 10, 16); on another we have *ro-se*, i.e., *rós*, with *ba-si*, i.e. *βασι*[*λεύς*], on both sides. This last coin weighs 9·81 gr. (*see* de Luynes, VI, No. 2), and the form *rós* prevents us from supposing that *ro* is an abbreviation of the Greek *ῥοπή* or *ῥόμβος*.

In the *Quarterly Statement* for January, 1893, p. 31, I have published a Cypriote inscription of two lines on a weight found under the pavement of Robinson's arch at Jerusalem, and now in the Museum of the Fund. The last character of the line on the front might tempt us to regard it as written in the linear characters of Krete, discovered by Dr. A. J. Evans since my paper was printed, rather than in those of the Cypriote syllabary. But, apart from the fact that the object cannot go back to the age when the Kretan characters were in use, the inscription on the back removes all doubt on the subject. We now know from the excavations at Tell es-Zakarîya, Tell Ta'annek, and other places that in the post-Solomonic period Cypriote pottery found an important mart in Palestine, and that intercourse between Cyprus and that country must have been close and frequent. Hence there is no difficulty in understanding how weights with Cypriote inscriptions should come to be met with in Palestine.

## Note on Professor Sayce's Communication.

Having been favoured with a proof of the foregoing article, I beg leave to offer the following remarks upon it:—

1. So far from identifying ☿ with *ov*, I expressly said that such an identification was untenable (*ante*, p. 210, line 14), and directed my whole argument against an interpretation based on such an identification.

2. The difference between the facsimiles of the sixth weight (not the *last*, but the *last but one*) in *Excavations at Jerusalem*, and in the

list on p. 209, lies (1) in the omission of 8, a mere misprint for which I disclaim responsibility, and (2) in the inversion of the characters. The latter I now regard as an error, and in the conclusion of the current report from Gezer (which I posted to the Fund office a few days before receiving the proof of Professor Sayce's observations) I have corrected it.

3. The Palestinian weights display the following numerical symbols:—|, ||, V or ⅃, ⊥. Of these, as I understand from the foregoing remarks of Professor Sayce, only the first two have been found *as numerals* in Cypriote. Of the Cypriote numerals cited above, or implied by Professor Sayce |, ||, +, ||||, Λ, ||| |||, only the first two, and doubtfully the third,[1] occur on Palestinian weights. Thus the only certainly common signs are |, ||, for 1, 2; and there is at least one difference, Cypriote |||| (which I presume is 4) corresponding to Palestinian V. The identity of the two numerical systems cannot be maintained on the grounds of the similarity: one stroke means *one*, and two strokes *two*, to Australians, Hottentots, Egyptians, Assyrians, Romans, and Red Indians.

4. A coin bearing *ro* (assumed to be the name of a weight), unqualified by any numerical or fractional symbol, must necessarily weigh "one *ro*." The coin so inscribed weighs 2·52 grammes. Another of 9·81 grammes would fairly represent, on this theory, four times that standard, allowing for wear. But it seems that this second coin is "one rôs," and also that *ro* is merely an abbreviation for *rôs*. A weight found at Gezer of 11·3 grammes is somewhere between four and five times the first coin. But again, according to Professor Sayce, this weight is expressly inscribed "one *ro*." Surely there are limits even to the bewildering elasticity of Oriental weight and currency standards!

R. A. S. MACALISTER.

*Postscript.*

After posting the foregoing note I found another weight of the series, which possesses some importance in connection with the discussion on the meaning of the symbols.

[1] I have suggested $\frac{3}{4}$ as a *possible* value for +, on metrological grounds, but I am by no means convinced that the character is, in Palestine, a numeral at all. It does not occur associated with 8.

It was discovered in the Maccabean stratum, and thus fixes the date of the series, previously uncertain, as post-exilic. The symbols are represented in the accompanying figure, which was drawn with

Inscription on Weight.

the aid of the camera lucida so as to secure rigid accuracy. The weight is 91·47 grammes, so that, like the Jerusalem weight, it represents eight times the standard.

Evidently the numerical character is meant to be V, not ⊥; and it is probable that the Jerusalem weight was also intended to be inscribed V, but the graver slipped. But the weight of four times the standard from Jerusalem is also inscribed V; this would be difficult to explain were it not for the Zakariya weights of the same amount. These show that the symbols for 4 and 8 on the Palestinian cypher system must have been respectively L and ⌋, both of which characters approximate to V when carelessly cut. This new discovery makes the Cypriote analogies rather more remote.

Another point must be noticed. As I understand, the Cypriote syllabic sign *ro* is flat-topped, thus: ⊼. The standard-sign of the weight is almost always carefully angled, thus: ⊼. This point may be trivial, but it may also be worth calling attention to.

R. A. S. M.

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## THE IMMOVABLE EAST.

(*Continued from p.* 264.)

By Philip G. Baldensperger, Esq.

### The Fellahîn.

The "gate" (*fatah*), or store-room, the dark part of the house, is for the straw, a great deal of which is needed for the winter—wheat or barley *tibn* for donkeys, and vetch or lentile *tibn* for camels and cows. Wood for fuel is also stored there, as also the pack-saddles

and wooden cages to carry loads on the camels (called *shakadif*), and all the agricultural implements.

The court is always in front of the house, and the walls are covered with thorns (*sîih*) as a protection against thieves or other intruders, as jackals or foxes, bent upon taking the hens. Of such a wall Tobiah, the Ammonite, spoke in derision: "If a fox go up, he shall even break down their stone wall" (Neh. iv, 3). The court is the home in summer, and is divided into two parts—a lower part, the real *hôsh* or court, and the elevation, called *mestabe(t)*, where the family live. This space is covered with a canopy (*'arishet*) made of poles and covered with branches of trees: two sides only are protected, against the angle of the house and wall, and the other two are open to the court. This is the summer residence alluded to by the prophet Amos (iii, 15), and probably also the *'aliyyah*, or upper chamber, of 2 Kings, iv, 10.

When there is a stable for the herds, there is also a large courtyard, called *sire(t)*, usually surrounded by a hedge of thorns. The shepherd always sleeps in the court of the stable in summer, or on an elevated couch inside the stable in winter. The stables are swept every two or three days by the women, and the manure burned as fuel in the oven. The oven (*tâbûn*) is shared by two or three families, and is in a small hut away from the house. It is very small, and scarcely more than one woman at a time can move about in the *tanûre* in the centre, and disputes often arise, especially if the women who use it do not belong to the same circle of families. Among the curses for disobedience we read, "Ten women shall bake your bread in one oven" (Lev. xxvi, 26), a very disagreeable thing in these narrow ovens, and a real evil. The *tanûre* is like a deep, bottomless bowl turned upside down on small stones, on which the dough is laid in small round loaves. On the open part is placed a clay cover with a handle, and when they want to heat it the cover is put on tightly, and manure is heaped up around it and lit. This burns slowly until the space is supposed to be hot enough, and then the women remove the hot ashes from the top and take away the cover, and the loaves are placed inside on the clean hot stones, and everything is covered again until they are cooked.

The dogs are not stray dogs as in the towns, but belong to every house, and have their names and their share of sympathy. A good dog is highly valued, as it keeps watch when everybody is

asleep. The dogs are generally very courageous, and are of the same pariah race as the town dogs. They are not only yellow, but also white, black, and even brown in colour. Their names are often chosen according to their colour, or the circumstances in which they were bought, and so forth. A white one may be called "Pigeon," a black one "Night," an ugly one "Wolf," a fierce one "Lion," or "Summer," "Winter," "Rain," &c. They often follow the herds and keep off wild beasts. They are generally the pet of the shepherd, who, being young and not old enough to know otherwise, treats them with kindness. Their elders, however, though they may prize the dogs, and do not hesitate to demand immense damages if a dog should be killed either accidentally or by spite, never allow a dog to enter the room, summer or winter. The dog must find some corner or shelter in very bad weather, and is given just enough food to keep it going. Wherever a dog is seen, it is either beaten away or at least is reproached by *ta' ahs*, *i.e.*, "Fie on thee!" When young its ears are cut, and it is invited to eat them; this is said to be very efficacious in order to make it fierce. Then it is shut up in a small dark place where it can see nobody, and from which prison it is extracted once a day to receive a good flogging; this is said to "bring it up," for they believe in "Spare the rod and spoil the dog."

Cats are not rare. They are kept for the rats and mice which abound. They have rarely any names but are called *Biss*, and although they are respected to a certain degree, that is to say they are not killed, they are driven away by *ta' biss*. It is a common belief that a cat is sacred, and a crime against a cat is never pardoned. *Khatiyet il-kut mâ binut* (خطية القط ما بنط), says the proverb, and it is always observed.

The hens and pigeons are the only domestic birds kept by the fellahîn, and they always are the woman's property. She sells the eggs of the hens and the young pigeons in the towns and buys oil with the proceeds. They are very careful in raising the chickens in spring. The hen, *dejâje(t)* or *jâje(t)*, is called *kruka* (قروقا) by the fellahîn women. As soon as she clucks, a dozen eggs or so are taken, and the cluck-hen is put into an old basket in the best room or on an elevation, so that the woman can always see what passes, and as soon as the chickens (*sisân*)[1] are hatched the old cluck-hen is tied up by one leg with a woollen thread until the chickens are ready to run about, and up and down the steps. At night they are put into the low chicken-coop, whilst in the daytime they pick up

[1] Half-grown chickens are called *farârij*.

a living where they can. They are not fed regularly, but scrape among the refuse, tares, &c. The pigeons have pigeons' holes inside the house above the door or windows, and the young ones are generally sold or sometimes killed for food. The old birds are called *ḥamâm*, and the young ones *zaghlûl*, *lit.* pipers. Although we only read in the New Testament of the care with which "the hen gathereth her chickens under her wings" (Matt. xxiii, 37), yet it may be supposed that the Hebrews of earlier times also knew about chicken rearing.[1]

Sparrows, called *'aṣâfir* (sing. *'aṣfûr*), are always to be seen about the houses and villages, an inseparable companion of man wherever there are buildings, for he is never found among the Bedawîn. The Hebrew *ṣippôr* and *dĕrôr* are not always very clearly distinguished, but the former frequently denotes "bird" generally.

The swallow (*sunûnû*) also lingers about the villages, but is not much in evidence, and the swift (*ṣis*) is found only in solitary places. These two birds are probably mentioned in Isaiah xxxviii, 14, "Like a crane or a swallow so did I chatter," should be preferably, "like the swift and the swallow," the association of the two birds being more natural.

The inseparable inmate of every household is the flea (*barghûth*). It is mentioned once when David flying before King Saul compares himself to a flea (*par'ôsh*, 1 Sam. xxiv, 14; xxvi, 20). The villages of the plains have more of these pests than those of the mountains, this being due no doubt to the milder winter, and many low-lying places in the plains of Sharon or round the Lake Tiberias are therefore called "the seat of the Sultan of the fleas."

Finally, we may observe that the expenses of a fellah family, composed of seven persons, would be somewhere about the following figures:—

| | | Piastres. | | £ | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 carpet (*ḥujra*) | ... ... | 102·00 | = | 0 | 16 | 0 |
| 3 covers (*liḥâf*) | ... ... | 51·10 | = | 0 | 8 | 0 |
| Pans ... ... | ... ... | 22·30 | = | 0 | 3 | 4 |
| 1 mat (*ḥuṣîrel*) | ... ... | 8·00 | = | 0 | 1 | 4 |
| 2 'Abahs ... | ... ... | 126·00 | = | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Military expenses | ... ... | 126·00 | = | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| | | | | £3 | 8 | 8 |

[1] [The domestic fowl was hardly introduced into Palestine before the Persian period (Kennedy, art. "Fowl," in *Ency. Bib.*).]

*Yearly Expenses for Clothing.*

Three Males.

| | Piastres. | | £ | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 6 thibâb ... ... ... | 81·00 | = | 0 | 13 | 4 |
| 3 girdles ... ... ... | 4·20 | = | 0 | 0 | 9 |
| 6 pairs of shoes ... ... | 90·00 | = | 0 | 14 | 3 |
| 2 tarbûshes ... ... ... | 45·20 | = | 0 | 7 | 2 |
| 3 turbans ... ... ... | 68·10 | = | 0 | 10 | 10 |
| 3 laftan... ... ... ... | 68·10 | = | 0 | 10 | 10 |
| | | | £2 | 17 | 2 |

Four Females.

| | Piastres. | | £ | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 8 thrab ... ... ... ... | 182·00 | = | 1 | 9 | 0 |
| 4 girdles ... ... ... | 16·00 | = | 0 | 2 | 7 |
| 4 head-rails ... ... ... | 45·20 | = | 0 | 7 | 2 |
| | | | £1 | 18 | 9 |

*Food.*

| | Piastres. | | £ | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 50 tabbies of wheat (at 20) ... | 1,000·00 | = | 7 | 18 | 10 |
| 50 ,, dura (at 13) ... | 550·00 | = | 5 | 4 | 10 |
| 12 rotls of rice (at 7) ... ... | 84·00 | = | 0 | 14 | 0 |
| 12 ,, oil (at 12) ... ... | 144·00 | = | 1 | 3 | 0 |
| 1 ,, butter ... ... | 35·00 | = | 0 | 5 | 5 |
| 15 ,, salt (at 2½) ... ... | 37·20 | = | 0 | 5 | 11 |
| 4 ,, petroleum (at 6) ... | 24·00 | = | 0 | 3 | 7 |
| 5 ,, onions ... ... | 5·00 | = | 0 | 0 | 10 |
| 36 ,, meat (with feasts) ... | 432·00 | = | 3 | 8 | 4 |
| 3 ,, coffee... ... ... | 90·00 | = | 0 | 14 | 3 |
| 1 ,, soap ... ... ... | 15·00 | = | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| Pepper ... ... ... ... | — | = | 0 | 0 | 8 |
| Hallâwy and other sweets ... | 102·00 | = | 0 | 16 | 0 |
| Miscellaneous ... ... ... | 157·00 | = | 1 | 5 | 0 |
| | | | £22 | 3 | 2 |

This is, of course, meant for a well-to-do family, working hard to allow themselves dainties, &c., which others cannot afford.

A description of the clothes worn at the present day has already been given (1903, pp. 163, 337).

The first and most indispensable article is a small leather pouch (*ṣofûn*, صفن) fixed to the girdle, containing a flint stone (*ṣawânet*), the steel (*maḥdaḥ*), and the tinder (*ṣûfûn*). The last-mentioned is made of the peelings and leaves of a compositæ growing on the rocks, dried and rubbed with a little salt. With these materials a fellaḥ can get up fire almost anywhere; matches, we must remember, would never serve in rainy weather. The *ṣûfûn* burns very easily, and is principally used for lighting the pipe. When a fellaḥ has a headache or rheumatism the *ṣûfûn* is lit and put on the aching member to burn away the pain. Other miscellaneous small articles are carried in the *ṣofûn*, *e.g.*, a pair of pincers, thread, and the big packing-needle (*mesalle*[*t*]), also a small pouch for money, &c.[1] The small knife (*mûse*, موس) is fastened on to a chain (*zarale*[*t*]) which is fixed in the girdle. Here also a strong iron hook (*shankal*) about 3–4 inches is fastened, point upwards, behind the right thigh, on which is hung the powder horn (*ḳarn* or *kharṭabil*), made of wood, with a clasp at the lower part of the projecting neck to measure the powder when the rifle is loaded. The horn holds about 1 lb. of powder. Many wear the horn simply as an ornament, with seldom or never any powder in it. A small leather pouch (*ghûb*) with powder—if no powder-horn is worn—together with a small cartridge-like measure (*kaile*[*t*]) to mete out the powder for a shot, and a leather pouch (*ḍabie*[*t*]) for shot. Some also have a broad belt across the shoulders with cartridge-like holders, called (*ṣ'fife*[*t*]), resembling the bandoliers of the Boers or Circassians. The pistol carrier (*k'râb*) completes the list of accoutrements.

The ordinary knives are also used as razors, though they have special razors called *mûs mizyin* (*see* 1903, p. 71). The fellaḥin, as a rule, cut each other's hair; they simply wet the hair and ply very quickly and, in consequence, they are all expert barbers.

The men cultivate the traditional tuft of hair (*shûshe*[*t*]) in the middle of the head when they are young or middle aged, but shave it when they are older. Ezekiel, in his vision, was lifted up by the *shushe*(*t*), or, as it is called in Hebrew, *ṣisith* (Ezek. viii, 3). Only

[1] The *ṣofûn* corresponds to the *yalkûṭ* of David, wherein he put the five stones for slaying Goliath (1 Sam. xvii, 40).

the hair of the beard and breast is allowed to grow, the rest is *plucked out*, not shaved; it is considered effeminate to shave it. The hair in general is called *sha'r*, the tuft worn by boys in the middle of the head is the *khuṣle(t)*. The same name is applied to that of the Dervishes, and the small tuft upon the forehead of boys from two to twelve years is *ṭura(t)*. Women's plaits are styled *jadâïl*. The fellaḥ when in prison (like Joseph in the Egyptian dungeon) is not permitted to shave regularly, and this constitutes another punishment in itself. The beard (*liḥye[t]*) of the fellaḥ extends from ear to ear, in the mountains of Judea, but in the plains of Philistia, Sharon, and in the mountains of Ephraim, it is customary to shave it off until a certain age is reached. Old men are everywhere expected to have the whole beard intact, and must not even trim it.

The men wear one ring on their right hand, on which is engraved thir name; most of them are unable to read or write, and the stamp (*khittem*) on the ring (*khâtem*) is employed to seal any act, sale of land, or other contract. The seal and ring are made one for the other, and are rarely considered as ornaments, with the men at least, and, being naturally very necessary in public or business life, they are seldom confided to another. The women wear many rings, similar to those worn by the men, but without any name on the square stone or glass which is set for that purpose. Sometimes they have even a dozen or more which are worn on all fingers, never on the thumb.

The fellaḥin women never wear earrings, but in some places they have nose-rings. They paint their eyes with kohl on the occasion of marriage processions, and put henna on their hands when the bridal party furnishes the henna. Men put kohl on their eyes when finishing work at the limekiln, but this not for an ornament, but a sanitary measure.

The men usually smoke the long pipe, and carry their tobacco in a leather pouch (*ḍabiet et tutün*; ضبية التتن). When the pipe is started a small pair of pincers (*melḳaṭ*) is fixed with a chain to the pipe stem, in order to get a light when necessary from the fire.

A handkerchief is stuck in the girdle and is used, not to blow the nose, but to contain all kinds of delicacies; in one corner there are generally a few grains of coffee, to make a cup or two should there be none in the house; in another corner is a little tombak, the Persian tobacco for the *argileh* which the better-class fellaḥin smoke.

A copper seal is also bound at one end. A comb of Indian manufacture is stuck into the turban, and is used to comb the beard after or during prayers.

Snuff-boxes (*velbet :ith*) are very common, men and women "smell the snuff," even as they "drink the tobacco."

The men and boys will often bind a leather strap or some cord around the wrists to strengthen the arms, as they say. The women rarely do the same, only those in particular who weave and are obliged to repeat hundreds and hundreds of times the same pulling movement at the long strings of the carpet.

(*To be continued.*)

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# THE ROMAN ROAD BETWEEN KERAK AND MADEBA.

By Professor George Adam Smith, D.D., LL.D.

From the north border of Moab, through the country southward on probably a very ancient line of traffic,[1] there ran a Roman road, paved, measured by milestones bearing the names of emperors from Trajan onwards, and furnished with the usual *mansiones*, *mutationes*, and guardhouses. For the most part the construction of this road must have been easy, for it traverses the plateaus of which the country principally consists, and all that was needed was the laying of a firm pavement: not indeed for the dry weather, when the soil is of itself hard enough to present a firm track both for horses and wheels, but during the rainy season when with the slightest traffic the earth is stirred into heavy mud. The plateau, however, is interrupted by several cañons the deepest, the Arnon, falls as much as from 1,800 to 2,000 feet below the brink of the plateau—on the sides of which the roads had to be carefully graded and often banked, and at the bottom of which the winter torrents necessitated the building of strong bridges. The road was of more than local importance, for it was only part of the great military highway laid and garrisoned by Rome all the way from Damascus

[1] *Cf.* Moabite Stone, l. 26: "I built 'Aro'er and I made the highway by the Arnon."

to the Gulf of 'Akabah. Compare the inscription on Trajan's milestone on the south side of the Arnon: "PROVINCIA*e Arabiae viam* NOVAM *a finibus Syriae* VSQVE AD MARE RUB*rum* APERVIT ET STRAVIT."

Several travellers have given descriptions of this road in whole or in part. From the early years of last century we have Seetzen's, Burckhardt's, and Irby and Mangles'. Later (1853) is De Saulcy's *Voyage Autour de la Mer Morte*. Among others, in more recent times, the most important are Canon Tristram's *Land of Moab*, the narrative of Dr. Bliss in the *Quarterly Statements* for 1895, Sir Charles Wilson's, *idem*, 1899, Father Germer Durand's account of the road from Petra to Madeba in the *Revue Biblique*, vol. vi, 1897, with notes by Father Sejourné and others on milestones, &c., in different numbers of the same periodical, the accounts of Dr. Brünnow's journeys in the *Mittheilungen u. Nachrichten des Deutschen Palästina Vereins*, 1897, &c., Professor Lucien Gautier's *Autour de la Mer Morte* (Genève, 1901), and the itinerary in Baedeker's *Palästina* (fifth German edition).

If to all these accounts I venture to add another, it is because I have to contribute a few geographical and historical data, observable from or near the road, as well as some corrections of hitherto accepted place-names and distances. I had as guide Khalil of Mādeba, who furnished me both orally and in writing with the place-names I am about to give, and these, where it was possible, I had verified by other natives. Since coming home I have read once more Seetzen's *Reisen* and Burckhardt's, in which I have found frequent confirmation of Khalil's evidence. I have also seen the data furnished by Professor Alois Musil, of Olmütz, in his prospectus or *Vorbericht* of a new map of Moab, but I regret I have not been able to see the map itself. Since this paper was written, Professor Brünnow's magnificent volume *Die Provincia Arabia* has appeared. His itineraries on the road between Madeba and Kerak are very full and richly illustrated; his data exceed those of any previous traveller. I would hardly have ventured to publish the following account of my journey had I not been able to add a few place-names to those he gives, as well as some other features of the road, and to make one or two corrections, where I think his account requires them.

My journey was made in April last. My companion, Dr. G. S. Buchanan, of London, and I travelled the distance between Mādebā

and Kerak twice (with the exception of the stretch between Mādebā and Libb, which we traversed once). As our journey northwards was the later of the two, and gave us the opportunity of testing the data we had gathered on the other, I propose to make my narrative run northwards.

*First Day.—From Kerak to the Wady el-Mōjib.*

We left our camp on the northern ramparts of the city near Bibars' Tower at 6.5 a.m. (temperature 66 degrees, in a light south-south-west breeze), and passed out of Kerak on the east at 6.15, by the new Turkish road laid across the deep Wady 'Ain es Sitt. 6.30: Crossed the Wady bed; 6.45: Reached ridge on north side of Wady, the limit of the Turkish road; 6.55: Eẓ-Ẓeweiher (الظويهر) a cistern and a few ruins; Seetzen (p. 412), Due'hereh; 7.5: Wady Maktal Imṭeir (مقتل امطير); 7.18: on the left Khurbet Ibn Ruz (روز);[1] 7.27: Ḳreifla (قريفلا); on most maps, Ḳureithelah, from Burckhardt's Ḳereythela; but Khalil was certain that the spelling is Ḳreifla, and this I have since found confirmed by Seetzen's Kräphilla (p. 412) or Gräphilla (p. 416), and by Brünnow's Krêfilla, 1 hour 13 minutes from Rabba; *cf.* Tristram's Hhrofillat, not located.

The Roman road which had been distinct nearly all the way from the north bank of the Wady 'Ain es Sitt, measured near this 9 paces broad—about 25 feet—the greatest breadth we found on the road, and a little further on 7½ paces. Tristram speaks of "two parallel lines of walls flanking" the road. We nowhere saw an edge to the road deserving the name of "wall." The longer stones which border the pavement are not usually more than an inch or two higher than the latter. At this spot they are held together by mortar. Part of the road here was, by reason of the earth packed on to the pavement, agreeable to ride upon, but this was a rare experience. Brünnow's map gives a milestone about 4½ kilometres, and another about 6, south of Rabba.

7.40: We came over a low swell of the plateau in sight of er-Rabba. 7.55: A series of scattered ruins mainly on the right. Khalil and a native both called them el-Muḥārakāt (المحارقات); but Tristram, Mekhersit (p. 109); Baedeker, Mucharschit; 8.0: On the

[1] Brünnow's map gives Abu-r-Ruzze, but further north.

left, Wady el-Yārūt (اليارود), with a Khurbet of the same name. On most maps this is spelt as if the initial letter were the English J, German Dscharud; but Seetzen (p. 412) spells it with the German J: Järud: and Burckhardt (p. 371) el-Yaroud, adding that it has a copious spring. Brünnow: el-Yarûd, but with a query after it: he places it on his map north of Rabba, but it lies to the south of the latter, and Seetzen describes it as the "vorstadt" of Rabba. A branch paved road leads from the Roman road to the Khurbet.

8.25: Reached Rabba, 2 hours 10 minutes from Kerak; Baedeker, 2 hours 20 minutes. We had examined the ruins carefully on the way south, but I have nothing to add to the reports of previous travellers, except an imperfect Greek inscription above the door of the building to the west of the road TOUTO . . . CCCX (?). The remains appear to be Roman and later, but the name Rabba certifies the site as that of an older Semitic town. It does not appear in the Old Testament, and the earliest mention of it known to me is that by Josephus xiv, *Antt.* I, 18, where in the list of towns which Alexander Jannæus took from the Nabateans and which Hyrcanus promised to restore, one is Ἀραβαθα (variants: Ῥαβαθα, Θαραβαθα, Θαραβασα, &c.). In a footnote Niese identifies this with Rabbath Ammon, but in his index with Rabbath Moab. The latter is the more probable, from the order of the towns among which Ἀραβαθα occurs. In the *Tabula Peutingeriana*, Rababatora is given as 48 M.P. from Thorma (Dat Ras). Ptolemy, Eusebius, and Stephanus, *De Urbibus*, name it Ῥαβαθωωα. But by the time of Eusebius the Greek name was Ἀρεοπολις, said to be formed from the (mistaken) identification of the town with Ar of Moab. Yet Eusebius and Jerome, in the *Onomasticon*, *sub* Ἀριηλ, Ariel, say that in their time the idol worshipped in Areopolis was called Ἀριηλ. Sozomen (*Eccl. Hist.*, vii, 15) mentions Areopolis among these cities the Pagans of which, under the Emperor Theodosius, *circa* 390, A.D., "contended zealously on behalf of their temples." As in so many other cases the Semitic name outlived the Greek. Abulfeda and other Moslem geographers call the city Māba.[1]

8.40: Left Rabba. 8.47: Remains of a small temple, el-Meyāl (الميال); but Brünnow gives the name as el-Miy-ah. 9.12: The

[1] In connection with the name "Rabba," note that in Syrian and Mohammedan legends it is applied to Lot's elder daughter, the younger being called in Syriac "Se'irta," and in Arabic "Zughar," both equivalent to "Zoar."

ruin el-Misdaḥ (المسدح). Baedeker and Brünnow give it as el-Misde, but Tristram, I find, like myself, heard it with a final guttural, Miss-dehh (p. 117). Close to it are the ruins for which some travellers have received the name Hemēmāt.

9.22: Beit el-Karm, or Ḳaṣr Rabba. We had examined the ruins on our way south, but full descriptions are given by De Saulcy and Brünnow. A khan has just been built beside the great temple, with narrow parallel arches supporting the roof in the Hauran style. Its eastern wall was well sprinkled with blood on the left of the doorway, and on the lintel there were two splashes. In what relation Ḳaṣr Rabba stood to Rabba it is impossible to say. The size of its temple is evidence that it was an important town; it could hardly have been a mere appendage to Rabba. The alternative name, Beit el-Karm ("House of the Vineyard"), may originally have been applied, like the Hebrew Beth-haccerem, to a district, and indeed, both in my experience and that of other travellers, the name appears to drift for some distance northward along the road (compare the long vineyard walls noticed below). The view from the top of the great temple is extensive. To the east, Ḳuṣr Bsheir is conspicuous, a black square building; to the north of it lies a smaller construction, also black, for which I was given the name Abu l-Ḥaraḳ (?), which Brünnow (*M.D.P.V.*, 1898, 52) gives as Ḳaṣr Abalcharadsch, and on his map as Ḳ. Abâ l-Harag; again to the north of that, the Jebel el-'Al.

9.40: Left Ḳaṣr Rabba, and passed down a long gentle slope northwards, the Roman road stretching very distinctly before us, but not, as some travellers have described, "straight as an arrow." Indeed, even over level ground, the direction of the road is seldom perfectly straight. 10.15: Crossed a dry watercourse: Tristram's Wady Ghurreh (p. 21), Burckhardt's Seil Djerra (p. 390), and Brünnow's Wadi-l-Ḳurri—37 minutes from Ḳuṣr Rabba. We then passed up an equally gentle slope towards Jebel Shīḥān. Watercourse and slope are strewn with basalt boulders. 10.24: Passed through a number of these, which seem to have been arranged at one time in circles. 10.40: Ruins to which Khalil gave the name Ḳāri'at (or, as he pronounced it, Gāri'at) Shīḥān (قرعة سيحان). I had doubts about the spelling of the first word of the name, as Socin, in his "Liste Arabischen Orts-appellativa" (*Z.D.P.V.*, xxii, pp. 39 and 57) gives it as Ḳāri'a (قارعة); but since returning

home I find it in Professor Musil's *Vorbericht* as Khalil gave it me, with the first syllable short. Socin defines it as "an open place surrounded by buildings, walls, and other prominent objects." The root meaning is "bare" or "bald"; the corresponding Hebrew root is Ḳaraḥ, קָרַח, and it is interesting to find this in the place-name קרחה on the Moabite stone. Seetzen met the place-name "Kréha," apparently on the site of Ḳăriʿat Shīḥān (p. 411). Levy (*Neuheb. u. Chald. Wörterbuch* IV, 325*a*) gives קַרְחִינָא, Korchina, as a place-name. The ruins of Ḳariʿat Shīḥān represent a large town, and lie under the highest point of the long ridge of Tell Shīḥān. The road traverses almost at a right angle long parallel lines of basalt blocks, seven or eight of them, running down the lower slopes of the ridge on to the plain. The natives take these to be walls of ancient vineyards (so, too, Tristram); compare what was said above as to the name Beit el-Karm. The Arab geographers describe the chief products of the neighbourhood as almonds and grapes. The name Shīḥān was known as Sīḥān to the Arab geographers, *e.g.*, Abulfeda.[1]

The Roman road here had two branches, the western crossing the summit of the hill, and followed both by Tristram and Bliss, the latter of whom identified Roman remains on the summit, and a milestone, MPXII, on the northern slope; the eastern, or more direct, running through Ḳariʿat Shīḥān along the foot of the hill. This one we followed. At 10.55 we reached the top of the tributary ridge which runs east from the northern end of the tell. Here we made a digression along the ridge in order to get a view eastward. From this it appeared that the Wady Saliḥeh, marked on most recent maps as running between Jebel Shīḥān and Wady Baluʿa northward into the Wady Mōjib, does not exist on this course. There is a Wady Saliḥeh tributary to the Wady Mōjib from the south, but its course is short and confined to the region west of the Roman road. It enters the Mōjib a little below the Roman bridge, as already Burckhardt pointed out. East of this there is no wady till the Wady Baluʿa, whose deep ravine we plainly saw, and beyond and parallel to it the other southern affluent of Wady Mōjib, the Wady or Seil Lejjun. The name Baluʿa is in classical Arabic an

[1] From this point about 3½ kilometres to the east, Brünnow reports the ruin el-Balûʿa, at the confluence of the Wady el-Balûʿa and the Wady el-Ḳurri. Under the ruin the Wady is called Wadi-sh-Shḳêfât. Seetzen and Tristram appear to have encountered the name Balûʿa elsewhere.

adjective, meaning "open" or "ample," but Schumacher (*Z.D.P.V.*, ix, 169, 173; xix, 191) renders it "abyss," and in the Exploration Fund's *Name Lists*, 44 and 226, it is translated "water-hole," "gully-hole."

11.5: We left this point and returning to the road reached, at 11.27, the foot of the next gentle ascent, up which, at 11.30, we were opposite the remains of Erīha (اريحا) or Er-rīha, more probably the former. Baedeker gives 40 minutes from here to the northern edge of the Mōjib, Brünnow 32 minutes; while we took 35. It is therefore clear that the position assigned to Erīha on many recent maps as south-east of Jebel Shīḥān is wrong. It ought to be placed a few yards east of the road, 2 miles south of the northern edge of the Mōjib.

At 12.5 we reached this, beside the small Turkish barrack which lies at the top of the descent. One of the two terebinth trees which for long have formed a landmark here has died, the other still explains the name of the spot Es-Sajara. We had taken exactly six hours (including stoppages amounting to 43 minutes) from Kerak, while the reverse direction had occupied us, including some stops, 6 hours 20 minutes. Baedeker gives 8 hours 20 minutes for the distance, but throughout Moab I have found his data excessive. Our heavily-laden mules took only 7¾ hours.

Before descending the gorge, I rode along its east edge to where I could see the junction of the three wadies which combine to form the Mōjib: from the south Wady Balu'a, and from the south-south-east the Wady Lejjun, meet and flow northward about a mile and a half before joining, almost at a right angle, the Wady Sa'ideh from the east. It is after this second junction that the valley and its stream take the name of the Mōjib. So Bliss: instead of Seil Lejjun Tristram gives the name Mkarrhas, which Bliss recovered up the same wady in the springs of Makherus (*P.E.F.Q.*, 1895, p. 215), while Burckhardt had already (p. 373) recorded the name Seil el-Mekhreys (المخريس). Brünnow has now further confirmed these names, and given us on his map more exact indications of the directions and length of the water-courses to which they are attached. I need only add to his descriptions these remarks: each of the great confluents of the Mōjib has a broad green bed, filled with oleanders and other trees; the wedge-shaped promontory between the Balu'a and the Lejjun is called El-Lisān; and there is a road or track

northward from it across the lower slopes between the Lejjun and the Sa'ideh.

Brünnow gives a plan of the late Roman ruins, immediately to the south-east of the descent into the Mōjib, to which the name Maḥaṭṭet el-Ḥajj is given (محطة, and not Maḥatta, as Brünnow spells it). Burckhardt heard the name given both to these ruins and to those of the fort, also late Roman, on the road lower down; and Brünnow calls them respectively the upper and the lower Maḥaṭṭet el-Ḥajj. The name means "station of the Ḥajj." It cannot embody, as some have supposed, the memory of a time when the Meccan pilgrimage passed this way, for there is no probability of the latter ever having taken such a difficult direction while the much easier road, unbroken by cañons, lay so near to the east. It is simply a popular explanation of ruins which evidently had to do with Trajan's road. I do not think it has yet solidified into a place-name; it is only descriptive. Neither our guide nor any of the Arabs, whom we asked, knew of it as a place-name. One said, "Yes: it is a Maḥaṭṭa," *i.e.*, station "or Kerakon," *i.e.*, barrack or guardhouse. There is no appearance of there ever having been a city here.

2.20: Commenced descent into the cañon; on this side 2,040 feet deep from the edge of the plateau to the bed of the stream (Wilson, *Quarterly Statement*, 1899, p. 309). The road, recently improved by Turkish engineers, descends in zig-zags on good gradients. The ancient paved road is observable with few intervals. 2.40: Lost sight of the Dead Sea. 2.50: First of the two groups of Roman milestones, which lie on the descent; near them the banks on the upper side of the road are faced by walls. 2.55: More of these walls, and then where the road descends an open slope, lines of masonry running across it, so as to prevent the pavement from being washed away. Just before 3 o'clock we reached the first of the two broad plateaus which break the descent, with the ruins of the large rectangular building described, like those above, as a Maḥaṭṭet el-Ḥajj. After examining this one, left at 3.40. 3.45: Crossed the second plateau with the next group of Roman milestones, 15 minutes of rapid walking from the previous group, and before four reached the bed of the Mōjib at the remains of the Roman bridge. The descent had taken us (after deducting 40 minutes spent at the ruin) 1 hour 10 minutes (Baedeker 1 hour 30 minutes), the same time as we had required for the ascent in much cooler

weather. The whole ride from Kerak to the Arnon, not including stoppages, had occupied 6 hours 27 minutes. Travellers may reckon to take from 6½ to 7½ hours, according to the weather.

The two groups of milestones on the descent have been described by Father Germer Durand in the *Revue Biblique* VI (1897); by Canon Dowling, *Quarterly Statement*, 1896, pp. 332 *ff.*; and by Brünnow (*Die Provincia Arabia*, pp. 36 and 40). The error which the latter has made in the numbering of the miles from Madeba I have corrected in my review of his book. One stone of the lower group is distinctly marked MP XVI ARAB; *i.e.*, from Rabba; and another CVIII, *i.e.*, from Petra. On one of the higher group Brünnow reads XVI, but my reading of it was XV; and on another the numerals XU, probably for XV, is also plain. I think, therefore, one may take it that to the south of the Mōjib the numbering of the milestones was not from Madeba, as Brünnow understands, but from Rabba; and that the two groups, distant a Roman mile from each other, represent the fifteenth and sixteenth miles from that town. This is rather more than the distance by the road we had traversed along the east base of the Jebel Shīḥān, and one must therefore conclude that the measurement followed the longer road over the summit of Jebel Shīḥān where Bliss identified the remains of a Roman city, and found (on the northern slope of the Jebel) the twelfth milestone from Rabba.

I return now to the ruins lying on the plateau between these two groups of milestones, Brünnow's Unteres Mehatet el-Hajj. He has given a plan and description of them, which is full, and, according to my own measurement, correct so far as their dimensions are concerned, but contains more than one unaccountable omission. The main building is square with towers at the corner. Some natural blocks have been cleverly used, as Brünnow points out, in the construction of the walls; others, which he does not mention, protrude from the quadrangle within the walls. In front of the main building and between it and the road is a terrace, the breadth of which is exactly half that of the main building, *i.e.*, about 26 paces. A carefully built wall, about 3 feet high, raises this terrace above the road; and upon it are the lower courses of the walls of two small buildings which, from the worn stone troughs or mangers in them, must have been stables. Brünnow, neither in his plan nor description, gives any trace of these. Burckhardt also observed near the ruin a Birket, which he says "was filled by a

canal from the Ledjoum (Seil Lejjun), the remains of which are still visible."

These ruins, therefore, may be held to represent a Roman fort, along with one of the usual *mansiones*, which consisted of an inn and stabling for horses. The *Notitia Dignitatum Imperii Romani* (end of fourth century) mentions the "cohors tertia felix Arabum" as stationed in the "castris Arnonensibus," but describes this as situated "in ripa vadi (or Uade = Wady) Apharis fluvii." Since the River Aphar is unknown, and the name Arnon, as we shall see, was at all times one applied to an extensive district as well as to the stream now called the Mōjib, it is impossible to fix the locality of this camp. The next entry is "Cohors tertia Alpinorum apud Arnona." Either of these may refer to the ruins in question. Eusebius and Jerome (*Onomasticon*, *sub voce* Ἀρνων) describe the valley in their time as heavily garrisoned.

No one doubts that the modern el-Mōjib (الموجب) and the ancient Arnon are the same river. It must be more than a coincidence that Arnon means "sounding" or "noisy," and that the root of Mōjib, *wajaba*, has in certain forms the signification of "falling with noise and a violent rush"; *wajbeh* is "the sound of something falling." In Old Testament times Arnon seems to have covered many or all of the wadies which unite with the main cañon. Num. xxi, 14, *the valleys, Arnon*; and probably, as I have pointed out (*Encycl. Bibl.*, col. 3,170, n. 1), the name as given in the previous verse refers to a branch of the Wady el-Wāleh. In Jer. xlviii, 20, Arnon appears to be a district, perhaps also in Num. xxi, 28 and xxii, 36. But Deuteronomic (and other?) passages speak of the Valley of the Arnon in the singular (Deut. ii, 24, 36; iii, 8, 12, 16; iv, 48: Joshua, xii, 1; xiii, 9, 16; 2 Kings, x, 33). Judges, xi, 13, 26, mention Arnon as if it were a river like Jordan and Jabbok; and Isaiah, xvi, 2, has *the fords of Arnon*. Here evidently the main stream is meant, and this is confirmed, both by the meaning of the name "the noisy" and by the description of the Arnon as a political border. It is the deepest cañon in Moab. Mesha may be referring either to the cañon or district when he says (l, 26) "Made the highway in Arnon." Josephus describes it as the River Arnon, the limit between Moab and the Amorites (iv, *Antt.* v, 1, 2) Eusebius and Jerome testify that the name survived in their day. To Eusebius ὁ Ἀρνων is the gorge (φάραγξ), the stream (Χειμαρρους *sub* Ἀροηρ) and a political boundary (*sub*

*Ἀρναν*). *ὁ Ἀρναν* is also a gorge (*sub* *Ἀρναν*), or, more generally, a district characterised by gorges (*τόπος φαραγγώδης* (*sub* *Ἀρναν*)). The feminine *ἡ Ἀρναν* is also applied to the district (*sub* *Βανωθ*) (*cf.* the *Not. Dignit. Imp. Romani*). The name Nahr el Mōjib occurs in Idrisi (twelfth century), Yakūt (thirteenth), and Abulfeda (fourteenth), also in the Samarito-Arabic version of the Pentateuch by Abu Said (tenth to twelfth) quoted in Smith's *Dict. of the Bible*, 2nd ed.; but earlier than any of these is the Greek form Μουζιμ, in a MS list of Sees under Jerusalem, cited by Palmer, *Desert of the Exodus*, 423, 500, 550.

We examined the remains both above and below the present ford, which appear to be chiefly those of ancient mills, aqueducts, and dams. Burckhardt reports near the confluence of the Lejjun and Mōjib "a fine pasture ground with some ruins," and these the article in Smith's *Dict. of the Bible*, by Grove and Wilson, suggests as the *city that is in the midst of the river* (Joshua, xiii, 9, 16; Deut. ii, 36).

We came down into the Arnon under a light west wind. The atmosphere was thick, hiding the Judaean mountains, and filling the cañon itself with haze; probably the evaporation of the Dead Sea. Temperatures in camp near the stream, April 24th, 5 p.m., 82°; 9.45, 69: next morning, 7, 69°; 8, 72°. On our way south, April 21st, the temperatures were 3 p.m., 93°; 9.15, 75°: next morning at 5 and 6, 66°.

(*To be continued.*)

## VISIT TO KEFR SHIYÂN, JANIEH, AND NEIGHBOURHOOD.[1]

By the Rev. J. P. Peters, D.D.

*Wednesday, August 20th*, 1902.—Up before six. Started about 6.30 for Kefr Shiyân, an hour west of Rāmallah, Mr. Grant, Mr. Hanauer, and I. Kefr Shiyân is the ruin of a village, apparently of the Roman period, wonderfully well preserved. It was unfortified, and lay on the spur of a hill, defended by nature on three sides, but on

[1] Extracts from a journal of a visit to Palestine made in 1902.

the fourth, where the main hill rose above it, quite unprotected by either nature or art. A street, rather narrow and not straight, leads up to and through the village on the north side. The foundations and side walls of various houses and enclosures are standing on either side. Conspicuous on the right hand are the remains of a tower with sloping walls. On the left, a little beyond this, occupying the very summit of the spur, are the ruins of a very large building, rising in terraces on the south and east. Under this on the north is a cistern, the mouth of which is now blocked up, which is said to be large and to have columns. Here are also masonry vaults. On the west is a court, partly paved, in which is a natural rock with a curious triangular hole, which seems to have been utilised for some purpose. On the lowest slope of the main hill, just above this village but contiguous, are the remains of a building or buildings in which some huge blocks of stone, roughly hewn, have been utilised. In this are two rock-cut underground channels. Somewhat down the slope to the north are the remains of a tower tomb, with its low door on the eastern side. The masonry of the central structure of this village is very good, and the stones are laid in hard cement. Here are fragments of tesselated pavement. Everywhere the pottery fragments were all Roman, chiefly the corrugated ware so common all through this section. The earth on the ruins was red, like virgin soil, which I can only explain on the supposition of a very short occupation. No columns, capitals, or ornamented stones were found. Crossing the deep wâdy to the south we visited 'Ain Sûbieh, on the opposite hill. Why 'Ain I do not know, since there is no spring there. The ruins are much smaller and rougher than those at Kefr Shiyân, and represent, I should suppose, a well-to-do farm with surrounding buildings and houses of employees. From the pottery found this also would appear to be Roman. Unlike Kefr Shiyân the ground here is the typical whitish ruin soil. At the lower edge of these ruins, as one enters from the east, are some very curious rock cuttings, presumably vine and olive presses. There are enclosures about, two of these of very large natural stones, either set up on end or laid on the other flat. The third cutting to the north is unenclosed. Fallen down in a natural trench in front of these enclosures and rock cuttings lay two rudely hewn columnar stones, about 4 feet long each, which I was at first disposed to regard as *maṣṣêbôth*. What they were I do not know.

These two ruins are marked on the Survey Maps, and the former noted in the Survey Volumes (Sheet XVII), but not described. In the afternoon we visited some curious rock cuttings which I had noticed near Beitîn, right on the Nablûs road. These are called by Guerin and Robinson 'Ain el-Ghazal, a name which we could not hear. Baedeker mentions their existence, and says that they were called 'Ayûn el-Harâmiyeh in the middle ages. The Fund Survey notes at this spot 'Ain Ḳussis and tombs. There are no tombs, and the proper name is 'Ain Ḳuṣ'ah.[1] There is a terrace of natural rock 8 to 12 feet above the present road. To this steps were cut on the western side. In the face of the rock above this terrace, following, apparently, a rotten vein through which water oozed, a channel 7 feet high and 3 feet broad has been cut into the rock for about 10 feet, when it turns sharp to the east, and runs a little distance further. In the bottom of this are 6 to 10 inches of water. From its mouth channels carry water to an extensive system of rock-cut basins of all sorts, shapes, and sizes to the east. A much deeper and broader channel leads to the edge of the terrace or platform, then turns westward at a right angle and conducts the water into the side of a cave, the door of which opens on the present road, being cut in the face or scarp of the rock which forms the terrace above. This cave is about 40 feet east and west by 25 feet north and south, and the roof is supported by two columns hewn out of the living rock. In front of it in the road is visible the coping of a circular pool, a beautiful piece of masonry. A little further on, in the face of the rock, under the system of rock-cut basins mentioned above, was another spring oozing out of a rot or flaw in the rock, which had been hollowed out artificially for some distance. The water from this was caught in a rock-cut trough, beneath which was another rock-cut trough, and on both sides the copings of rectangular pools are visible in the present road. There is another small cave, dry, and two or three niches in the rock face at this level, which has given rise to the Fund's statement of tombs at this place. These are in reality, I fancy, the commencement or intention of large caves, like the one mentioned above. Tombs are relatively rare in this section. There is a large one across the wâdy southward, some little distance to the east, and one or two small ones elsewhere in this valley; but, speaking roughly, they are infrequent and inconspicuous. The stream which runs into the

[1] *See Quarterly Statement*, July, 1903, pp. 268–270.

large cave appears to be intermittent at this season, as I have seen it running and seen it dry. The cave is full of mud and water, in which grow beautiful ferns. Near the steps above mentioned, on the edge of a scarp, a wine press was hewn in the rock, with two steps descending into it. The front of the vat is now broken down. Against the stone wall by the side of the road, but opposite to the mouth of the large cave, lies a large stone olive press. This extraordinary system of rock-cut waterworks and the like lies about midway between Bîreh and Beitîn, villages which have an abundant water supply of their own, in the neighbourhood of no village or ruin. About five minutes beyond these waterworks, on the right of the road, is a very well built oval pool, served by an underground channel from a spring on the hillside above, dry at this season. This has no name that we could learn. About 10 minutes further, as one ascends the hill toward Beitîn, on the right hand side of the road, is another spring oozing out of a vault in the base of the face of the rock, the water of which is or was caught in a pool inferior in workmanship to those mentioned above. The Fund calls this pool 'Ain es-Sultan; we heard the name 'Ain Agabeh.

*Thursday, August 21st*, we rode to Beitîn. Just beyond Bîreh we met a number of women carrying on their heads baskets of a greenish stuff, half clay, half rock, out of which they make the closets for their utensils, their grain bins, &c., and which they find somewhere near Beitîn. Finding nothing new at Beitîn, we crossed the beautiful and highly cultivated valley to the east, among the fig trees of which on the sides of the hill there were, they told us, some tombs which we could not see, to Burj Beitîn, on the hill beyond. Here there was a church, and the stone ornamentation found fixes this in the fifth or sixth century A.D. Out of these ruins the Arabs, presumably, built the small castle, the ruins of which constitute the present Burj. Then we went round the hill to the strange stone circles or masses to the north of Beitîn. These are masses of rock worn into strange shape by the weather, looking in many cases as though hewn by the hand of man, or as though at least man had set one stone upon the other. I presume that it is this field of stone with its weird and artificial aspect which gave rise to the story of Jacob's pillow and pillar at Bethel. None of us could find any sign of artificial working of the stones. Here and at Burj Beitîn, strangely enough, I found fragments of corrugated

Roman pottery, but pottery fragments were scarce at both places, and in the stone field the soil was red virgin earth. From this point we rode northward along the Nablûs road, about one hour, to the point opposite 'Ain Yabrûd, where I thought I had seen something resembling a stone circle. This time it had no resemblance to one, and the two round hewn stones which I noticed before proved to be old olive crushers begun and never finished. We went into 'Ain Yabrûd, where I saw the largest and finest old oak I have seen in the country. Here they have opened a number of graves in the search for treasures or saleable antiquities. These all lie close side by side on the path to the well, at the foot of a steep or scarped rock to the east of the village. Most have been closed up again, but I got into one with arcosolia in the common form. Another older one, with *ḳôḳim* in the side of the rock a little above, had the interior revealed by a break in the rock. From here we went up a wild gorge, the Wâdy of the Rock of the Chief, up on to the great plateau, and so through Bîreh on to Râmallah. The village is Christian. It used to be famous for its turbulence, and the houses were built so that people could not shoot through the doors and windows; now it is peaceful and prosperous. Besides the Greeks and the Greek Catholics, who are natives, the Latins, the English (C.M.S.), and the American Friends have missions and schools here. The Americans have had a girls' boarding school here for over 20 years; now they have added a boys' boarding school. They have also four day schools in Râmallah, besides their evangelistic or preaching work, and schools in about four other villages. They used to have to buy the children to come to their schools; now they charge tuition. In the old houses there is a small space in front of the doors raised only a little above the street level. Then stairs run up to about the height of the top of the door, which is the level of the remainder of the one room in which the family lives. Under this upper part are vaults, which they use for storage. The stairway running up to this upper part is sometimes run across the door like a barrier, to give greater protection, *i.e.*, in the old houses. The women marry very young. One woman of 14 had been married six years, but whether any or how much of that was formal I do not know. In one tidy house we asked a handsome married woman of 18 or thereabouts to show us her wardrobe. From the bottom of a locked chest under a great pile of bedding she brought out a small square parcel done up in a

handkerchief, out of which she brought four dresses, apparently new, beautiful specimens of embroidery. One was Râmallah costume, one Bethlehem, and what the others were I do not know. Presumably, this was her own handiwork. Sometimes the whole thing is home made, the thread being spun and the cloth woven on the spindles and hand-looms in Râmallah. One of the houses we visited showed the effects of the mission schools, for the family had risen out of the slums, as it were, gone to the outskirts, built a nice house with two rooms; and they were thrifty and thriving in spite of a family of 12 children. The mission had just bought 600 lbs. of tomatoes from their gardens, and regularly bought bread from them. We squatted down and crawled into the little bakehouse—a dome of stones, on a roof frame of boughs—within which we could not stand erect. The boughs in the ceiling were glossy black from the fires. There was a mass of hot ashes (cow's manure) surrounding a clay vessel. Inside of this were hot stones, each an inch or so square. The bread was laid on these stones, which stuck in it when it was taken out, and had to be pulled out, leaving their impression on the bottom of the cake. The flour was wheat, like graham flour, and the bread very good when warm. We went into a slum house, and it was pathetic to see a young girl, who had begun to feel the effects of her school surroundings, trying to tidy up the impossible dirt and disorder of the filthy little den. Her father was a weaver, and over a hole in the floor, in which he sat, was his loom. In the floor of one of the rooms of the boys' school was a tomb-stone "For the repose of Suleiman (Σηλαμων) the presbyter"; but antiquities are rare at Râmallah. We lived in the girls' school, which has lovely grounds, for this country, and a pine grove, and was very cool, while Jerusalem was sweltering. The girls are all away, as it is vacation. It was very curious to see the native teachers play tennis, and the Syrian boys croquet.

*Friday, August 22nd*—Started for eṭ-Ṭayibeh. The road led through Bîreh (Beeroth), past Beitîn (Bethel), and well along towards Yabrûd (Jebruda) on the Nablûs (Shechem) road; then it branched off to the east. The whole ride was a little over two and a half hours. Ṭayibeh is supposed to be the ancient Ophrah, Ephron or Ephraim. It is a Christian village, and both the Friends and the C.M.S. have a school there. The Latins also have a mission. It is situated on the crest of a high hill, and looks down on the Jordan valley and Dead Sea, and across to Gilead. Close to it

across a valley to the north is the small Moslem village of Dêr Jerîr. To the south-east lies Rimmon (Rock Rimmon of the Bible), perched just on the edge of a great bluff. In the centre of the town, on the crest of the hill, are the remains of the foundations and retaining walls of a Crusading castle or fortress. The north-east corner of the latter is well preserved. A few old stones and a couple of columns appear in the walls of the villagers' houses and the like. On the east of the town, on a little hill, are the remains of a Greek Church of St. George (el-Khudr) of perhaps the sixth century. A striking feature was a flight of steps which led up to it from the west. At a later date the Crusaders built a small church within the old one out of the stones of the latter. The old Greek font was still there. In one of the chancels of the old church lamps are still burned to St. George by the Greeks. There we found a tattered old picture of St. George, and in front of it a pile of worthless lamps which had been burned before it. The insane, we are told, were chained at this church to be cured, a common practice with old churches of St. George. East and south of this church was a cemetery, and here were also some older tombs. One, which seemed to have been rifled within a year or two, was quite interesting. It was a natural cave enlarged. On one side were *ḳôḳim*; on the other one *ḳôḳ* and a bin; in the bottom what may have been a grave pit, or the entrance into a lower chamber; it was filled up, so that one could not tell which. There were quantities of bones at the entrance and all round. I found fragments of mediæval and Roman pottery, and one rude painted piece, which was either "Amorite" or Arab, early or late, presumably the latter. We spent the morning in the room of the teacher, now absent, of the Friends' school. I sat on a hard wooden bench, and kept dropping to sleep, to the distress of the people. The blind sheikh spent most of the time with us. He is blind for his sins, reminding one sadly of the prevalent immorality and its ravages. In the afternoon we called on the native C.M.S. teacher. An old Moslem from Dêr Jerîr came in also. The teacher had a spirit lamp like mine, and wanted to make us coffee. He wished to show that he understood European ways, and made me, before I knew what was up, a large European coffee cup of strong Arabic coffee. I drank it so as not to hurt his feelings. Ordinarily it would have knocked me out; in my then weak condition it did me good, giving me the needed stimulant. Six Zaptiyehs had come to the village,

and must be entertained in the guest house; and the sheikh sent a message with the village lists to the teacher's house to read out the names of the persons whose duty it was to furnish the entertainment. The lists were like bows, with pieces of paper strung on the strings. From the next piece on one string were read out five names of the men who must furnish the food for the men; and from the other six slips were told off, with two names on each slip, I think, of the men who must feed the horses. We left about four and rode down some wild gorges to the south, then we climbed straight up an impossible hill some 250 or 300 feet to a plateau with a wonderful view of gorges and ravines, on which lay the well-spaced modern village of Dêr Diwân or Dubwân. To the north-east, across the gorges, lay Rimmon. To the south, on a hill, the ruins of Haiwân. Somewhere in this neighbourhood lay the ancient Ai, but just where is uncertain. There are no ancient remains at Dêr Diwân itself. As we rode into the village, an old man sitting against the wall in a fig orchard by the road was removing a grape-leaf bandage from his arm. Mr. Grant tells me that for sore or weak eyes they cut or make a wound on the arm, which they then bandage with grape leaves. At Râmallah the boys make wounds and sores on their arms, believing that this will make the arm strong and the aim straight. Mr. Macalister tells me that they do the same at Abu Shûsheh and thereabouts. Some gypsies (Nowar) had just arrived, and pitched their tents west of the village, and were doing the smithing and tinkering of the village.

*Saturday, August 23rd.*—Having heard of "columns" at Janieh, a small village on the hills above the plain of Sharon, to the north-west, we set out to investigate. Descending into a wâdy, for which we obtained no name, to the north-west, we came upon a small ruin, called Kussabe, not given on the Survey. There were some walls, stone door-posts and lintels, and a broken stone tank, perhaps a font. Here was a very fine carob tree, and a little beyond three more. Further down the wâdy we came to an unexpected spring. For this and the wâdy itself we could get no other name than Râs el-Wad, "head of the wâdy." Then we climbed up a very steep hill, passing below 'Ain Hareshah, where we were told there were ruins; then along a long, narrow hill, the vegetation on which reminded me of the hills of the Shephêlah. At the end of this rose a knob, or cross hill, on the side of which was the poor little village of Janieh. In the court of the little

mosque stood a column, upright in the ground. A few others lay around; there was also a late Corinthian capital. As the sill of a window in a room opening off the mosque was a stone with a funerary inscription, or a part of one, in Greek. A couple of other columns or old worked stones were built into buildings in the town. Below the town, to the east, on the northern edge of the narrow hill along which we had come, under an older ruined mosque, and a somewhat later smaller mosque (or *makâm*?) also ruined, was a fine cistern, 75 to 100 feet long, and 40 to 50 feet broad, hewn in the rock and covered over, the roof supported by a fine double arch of massive masonry after the general fashion of the great cistern under the convent of Abraham by the church of the Holy Sepulchre. Below this were terraces with massive retaining walls, and below these a quantity of columns and fragments of columns, and pieces of tesselated pavement, none of which things are noted in any book. The only fragments of pottery I could find were Roman corrugated ware; but the ruins were later Greek, I thought. On a hill across a deep wâdy to the north was a coloured mosaic pavement, so they said, but we could not visit it. On this side the views over the plain of Sharon and out to the Mediterranean were grand. We went back by a different road, first descending the hill southward by an almost impracticable route. My donkey, owing to his perversity and indolence, almost turned a somersault down a ledge of rock, and, finally, we were all obliged to dismount and walk. We came out at last in the wâdy of 'Ain Kanieh, near some ruined wells. As we came to the wâdy we came to running water, and numerous pools, by which women were washing clothes. Naked children sat about. One woman had divested herself of her garments, but hurried into them at our approach. There were rich beds of cat-tails, and the edge of the stream was bordered with scrub oak, and the sides of the hills above were covered with fine olive groves. Gradually we ascended through these to the miserable little village of 'Ain Kanieh, the En-gannim of Josephus, on a saddle between two hills and two wâdys. Then around the hills into another wâdy southward, and so back to Kussabe, and then a stiff and very hot climb up to the breezy heights of Râmallah, which we reached a little before two.

# NOTES ON BIBLE GEOGRAPHY.

By Colonel C. R. Conder, R.E., D.C.L., LL.D.

## I.—The North Border of the Land of Israel.

Very few points on this border being generally recognised there has been much dispute as to the exact line. It appears, from Joshua xiii, 4, 5, that the land of Israel was to include the south part of Syria. On the west are noticed Mearah (*El Mogheiriyeh*, north-east of Sidon) and Aphek (*Afka*) near the border of the Amorites, whom we know, from the Amarna letters, to have lived in the Lebanon as well as further south. On the north again the territory of Gebal is included, so that the "Entering in to Hamath" should be sought north of Gebal. To the east is mentioned Baal Gad under Hermon, which was in the valley of Lebanon (Josh. xi, 17), and seems therefore best fixed at the spring of *Judeideh* on the north-west of Hermon.

From another passage (2 Sam. xxiv, 6), following the Greek, we find that the "Land of the Hittites of Kadesh" was outside the border of David's kingdom. Kadesh, at *Kades*, lies north of Riblah, near the broad opening at the head of the great valley of the River Eleutherus, which divides the Lebanon, and flows into the Mediterranean north of Tripoli. This great pass has always been the highway by which armies have advanced to the sea coast, from Hamath and from the valley of the Orontes. By it the Amorites of Tunep (*Tennib*) came down, in the fifteenth century B.C. to attack Semyra, which lay at the mouth of the pass (at *es Sumrah*), in the coast plain. By it also Rameses II subsequently appears to have marched up to Kadesh from the coast road, along which he has left his monuments at Sidon, and at the Dog River near Beirût. By the same pass the main body of the Crusaders, marching from east of Antioch, came down to besiege Arkah and Tripoli in the first crusade. This natural highway might well be called "the entry to Hamath" from the coast road, which becomes more difficult further north; and, if it formed in early times the north border of Israel—as it did later in the days of Jonathan the Hasmonean (*see* 1 Macc. xi, 7, xii, 30)—the site of Kadesh on Orontes would lie just north of the north border of Israel.

This position for the "Entering in to Hamath" agrees with the more detailed account of the border (Num. xxxiv, 7–11), which was to be marked from the sea to "Mount Hor" (LXX τὸ ὄρος τὸ ὄρος), or, as we may perhaps render it, "the mountain of the mountain region." By the "entrance of Hamath" it went east "towards Zedad," which is well known to have been at *Ṣadâd*, on the high road from Riblah to Palmyra, and east of the Anti-Lebanon. But the border, which thus would leave Kadesh immediately to its north, since the direction was south-east from the head of the Elentherus Valley, did not reach quite to Zedad. It passed by an unknown place called Ziphron (Δεφρωνὰ), and the "going out" was at Hazar Enan, which may very well be placed at *Râs el 'Ain* on the same high road to Zedad, some 12 miles nearer Riblah, and close to the Anti-Lebanon. The description of the east border which follows agrees with this identification: for Hazar Enan ("enclosure of springs") at Râs el 'Ain ("spring head") was the north-east corner, whence the east border went to Shepham and "went down from Shepham of Riblah on the east side of 'Ain." The last-mentioned place seems therefore to be the present village *el 'Ain*, near the west foot of the Anti-Lebanon, 20 miles south of Riblah. The border therefore was following the line of the Anti Lebanon along its crest, or on its west slope. This again agrees with the definition (Josh. xiii, 5) "all Lebanon towards the sun rising," and with the position of Baal Gad.

We may, perhaps, render Shepham "the lip," and, as a topographical term, it is used of a hill-terrace or slope (perhaps also connected with שְׂפִי "height" or "slope"), so that Shepham of Riblah was the anti-Lebanon slope, bounding the territory of Riblah on the east. It is clear that the border could not have passed through the town of Riblah itself, which lies on the Orontes in the middle of the valley of Lebanon. From 'Ain it was unnecessary to give further detail, as the natural boundary was followed to Baal Gad, and west of the crest of Hermon to the Jordan at Dan.

The account in Ezekiel (xlvii, 15–17) of this same border may be founded on that in Numbers, and agrees with it, though noticing some other places not yet identified. The Greek of this passage (in the Vatican MS.) is unfortunately so corrupt and inconsistent as to give no help. The "way of Hethlon" led to Zedad, being the high road already noticed, and also apparently to Hamath,

and to unknown sites (Berothah, Sibraim, and Hazar Hatticon), the last of which was the "middle town," as the name signifies, on the borders of Damascus. Finally, this north border of Israel is generally defined as being "from the sea to Hazar Enan (*Râs el 'Ain*) the north border, north of Damascus, and the border of Hamath." It appears, therefore, that a line from the head of the Eleutherus River to Hazar Enan marked the division of the lands of Israel and Hamath, and that the country east of the Anti-Lebanon, as far north as Zedad, belonged to Damascus. This leaves Kadesh in the Hamathite region, as well as Argana (*Arjûn*), between Kadesh and Riblah, a place where Shalmaneser II (in 854 B.C.) fought his great battle against the Syrian allies of Hamath. The line of the north border of Israel thus presents no real difficulty, and all the notices agree.

In this connection it may be noted in passing that the site of Tamar (Ezek. xlvii, 19), on the south border, seems never to have been fixed. The line runs "from Tamar to the waters of strife in Kadesh." Kadesh being (as in Joshua xv. 3) the south-eastern corner town—near Petra according to Jewish statements—Tamar would be the south-west town, and may therefore very well be identified with *Tumrah* about seven miles north of Gaza.

(*To be continued.*)

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## AUSTRIAN EXCAVATIONS AT TAANACH.

By Sir CHARLES WILSON, K.C.B., K.C.M.G., &c.

Dr. SELLIN, having decided, whilst travelling in Palestine, to explore the buried remains of one of the towns of Northern Palestine, selected Taanach, by the waters of Megiddo. The selection was a happy one, for the excavations have shown that the isolated hill, *Tell Ta'anek*, upon which the town stood, was unoccupied for some 1,500 years (B.C. 600 to A.D. 900). The buildings of the Amorite and Israelite periods are, consequently, in a better state of preservation than they are at Gezer, a place that was occupied continuously, and changed hands more than once during the stormy times of the Maccabæan wars. Supported by Government grants, which were supplemented by private contributions, Dr. Sellin was able to do much in a short time. The report on his

excavations during 1902–1903 has recently appeared,[1] and, as they were the first to be carried out on the site of a town of the ancient kingdom of Israel, it will be interesting to compare the results they have yielded with those obtained by Mr. Macalister at Gezer.

There is no trace at Taanach, excepting perhaps some empty caves, of the Neolithic cave-dwellers, whose existence was first made known to us by Mr. Macalister. The hill was occupied about B.C. 2000 by the civilised people called Amorites, or Canaanites, who seem to have taken possession of Palestine between B.C. 2500–2000. These people were not at first dispossessed by the Israelites; the town remained Canaanite for centuries. The occupation by the Hebrews was gradual, and apparently, as at Gezer, those who settled in Taanach adopted Amorite manners and customs. The excavations have revealed no true break in culture, but rather a gradual development. At a period when the influence of Greek civilisation had become very marked, but not dominant, the town was completely destroyed. The date of the catastrophe is uncertain. The pottery indicates that it was later than B.C. 722 when the kingdom of Israel came to an end, and the complete absence of glass and of the characteristic "Seleucid" ware shows that it could not have been later than B.C. 400. There is some reason to suppose that, when Israel was carried away captive, the site was occupied for a time by people of a different race; and Dr. Sellin suggests that the town may have been destroyed about B.C. 608 by the Egyptians after they had defeated King Josiah at Megiddo, some 2½ miles distant, and in full view. In Roman times there were no buildings on the hill, and its surface was cultivated, as at present. But a small town, which is mentioned by Jerome, grew up at its foot. Some time before the Crusades an Arab town and castle were built on the top of the hill. These appear to have been destroyed by the Crusaders, and the site has since lain waste.

Dr. Sellin, adopting the method of classification introduced by Professor Petrie, divides the sherds of pottery found in the débris into four art strata, or periods, and each of these he subdivides into two sections. In the earliest section (1*a*) of the first, or Amorite, period (B.C. 2000–1600) there is little trace of foreign influence, but a curious Babylonian-Egyptian seal cylinder shows that it was not wholly absent. The pottery is identical with that of the earliest Amorite period of Gezer, and it seems certain that these early inhabitants of Northern and Southern Palestine had reached the same stage of civilisation, and were of the same race. In the second section (1*b*) of the Amorite period (B.C. 1600–1300) a great advance in culture is apparent, and the pottery is analogous to that of Cyprus, Mykenæ, and Egypt. To this section belong the cuneiform tablets found near the fragments of the terra-cotta

[1] *Tell Ta'annek: Bericht über eine mit Unterstützung d. kais. Akad. d. Wissens. . . . . unternommene Ausgrabung in Palästina, von Dr. Ernst Sellin, nebst einem Anhange von Dr. Fr. Hrozný: "die Keilschrifttexte von Ta'annek"* (*Denkschr. d. kais. Akad. d. Wissens. in Wien*: Band 50; Vienna, 1904).

INCENSE ALTAR AT TAANACH.

*Photo. : Dr. Sellin.*)

box in which they were stored (*cf.* Jer. xxxii. 14). The letters show that Taanach was dependent upon Egypt when they were written, and that the local *meleks*, or "kings," used Babylonian cuneiform in their correspondence and kept official lists in it about B.C. 1400–1300.

To the earliest period belong a rock-hewn altar, intended for libations and not for burnt sacrifice, and several jar-burials of newly-born infants near it, similar to those at Gezer. The Semitic cult of sacred pillars was as marked as it was at Gezer, and infant and adult burials in connection with foundation rites were also found.

In the first section (*2a*) of the second period (B.C. 1300–1000) Phœnician influence is still dominant. The town is Amorite, but a castle built towards the close of the period to overawe the people marks the advent of a ruling (Israelite) power. In the second section (*2b*) of this period (B.C. 1000–800) Taanach is Israelite, but foreign influences, especially Cypriote, are very marked. None of the jar-handles with royal stamps, which are found at all sites in Southern Palestine, have been discovered.

The third period is that of Hellenic influence, but only the first section (B.C. 800–608) is represented at Taanach. The art stratum (*3a*) is more sharply and distinctly defined than in Southern Palestine. To this period belongs the curious altar of incense in terra-cotta which was found in 36 fragments (p. 390). The altar has one handle, or "horn," remaining, and on its right side are, alternately, three animals with human heads, and two lions whose fore-paws rest on the heads of the composite figures beneath them. The human heads have hairless faces, and sharp aggressive noses, a type having analogies with that of the very early Greeks. The head is in each case covered by a skull cap with projecting ears, an incised decorated border, and two tassels on the left side.

The buildings at Taanach show that it must always have been a large *fellah* village, with houses of mud and stone, amongst which there was here and there the house of a sheikh or official. The art was that of a country town with a simple but progressive civilisation. Here, as at Gezer, the principal divinity of the hill seems to have been Astarte. In the earliest Amorite deposits no figure of the goddess was found, but from B.C. 1600 onward the images are common, and do not disappear until the stratum *3a* is reached. During the Israelite period a new type seems to have come into fashion, and Dr. Sellin suggests that although the general type was the same throughout Palestine, each city had its own variety.

# AN ANCIENT SEWER AT JERUSALEM.

DR. SELAH MERRILL, United States Consul at Jerusalem, has kindly forwarded a plan (p. 393) of the course of the ancient sewer found by the people of *Silwân* (Siloam). Dr. Merrill was the first to explore this old drain, and the following description of it has been compiled from his notes :—

The length of the sewer from A to F is 1,830 feet, and of this 1,415 were examined. Except where it is cut in the rock the drain is paved throughout with large stones, and its walls are of ordinary stones set in mortar. Its dimensions are fairly uniform, the width being 3 feet, and the height of the sides 5 feet. For upwards of 200 feet from B towards A the sewer is cut through the solid rock, and for some 80 feet from C towards B it is roofed with large flat stones about 8 inches thick. Elsewhere it is vaulted, and is 6 feet high in the centre. Between C and E there was moisture and some slime, but on the whole the great sewer was found to be fairly clean, and free from offensive odours. There are no openings to indicate the junction of branch sewers, and for most of the way a man can walk through the tunnel without difficulty.

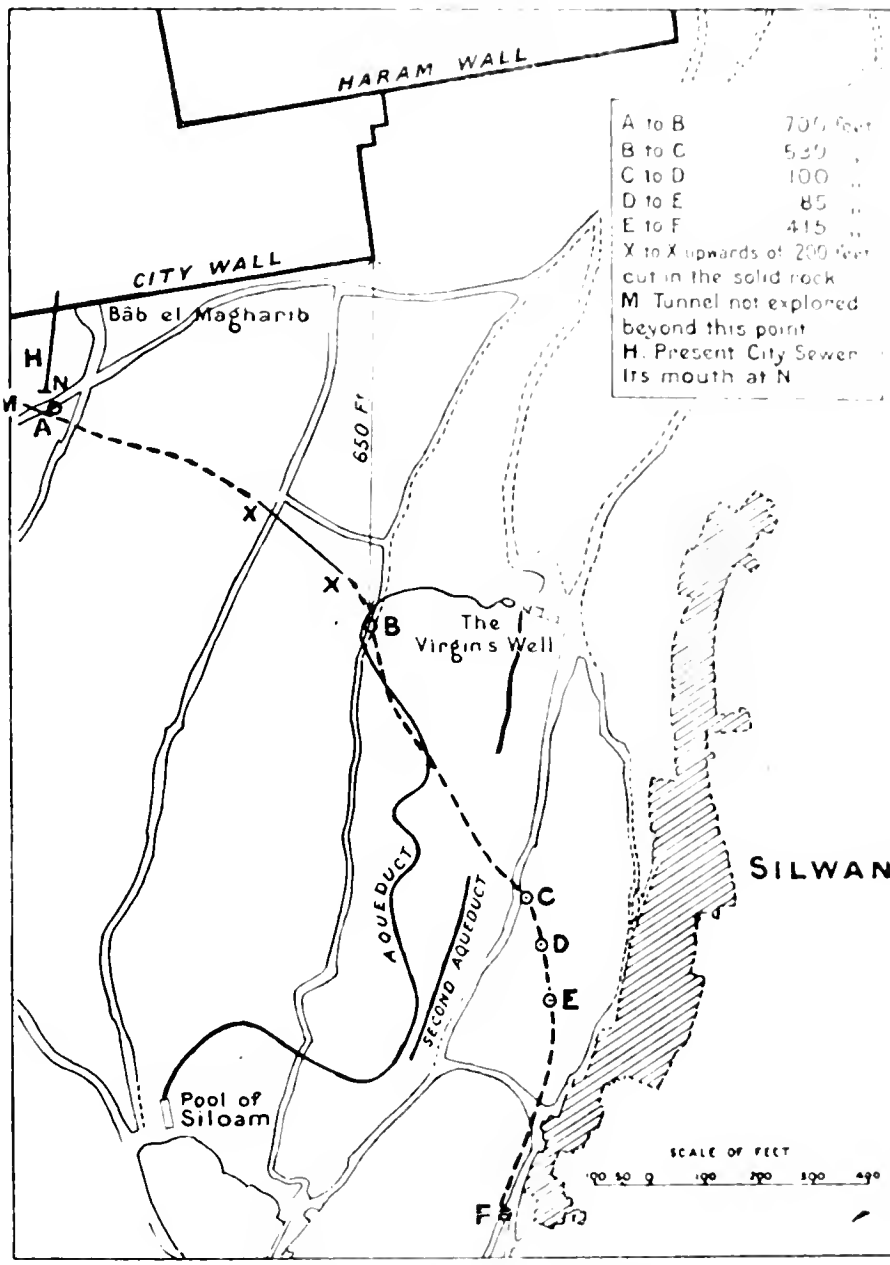
The sewer has not been explored beyond M, south-west of the Dung Gate, where it is 30 feet below the level of the existing sewer of the city, which at the point N becomes a foul open drain. At B, on the brow of the hill, there is an opening to the ancient sewer, and immediately to the south of it the people of *Silwân* have lately built a small house of which Dr. Merrill has sent a photograph.[1]

"It is probable that a considerable number of canals, tunnels, and the like exist under the soil at different points. For drainage and water supply every succeeding city would have its own conveniences. Whenever a city was destroyed these would be destroyed, or covered and lost sight of in the general ruin. Later there would be rebuilding, and new canals and tunnels would be constructed. Hence we find their remains *at different points, running in different directions*, and, what is interesting and confirmatory, *at greatly differing levels.*"

The natives report the existence of a number of tunnels in the vicinity of the sewer. Schick's "Second Siloam Tunnel," and that entered by Masterman and Hornstein would run under the ancient sewer. "Barclay mentions a tunnel, very near the Fountain of the Virgin, which he entered, and followed towards the Temple. This, from his description, could have no connection with the sewer." Schick (*Quarterly Statement*, 1902, p. 35) speaks of entering "a rock-cut tunnel and following it for 400 feet." This would be in 1862, for he says it was 40 years before.

[1] Not published.

The tunnel I am describing is not "rock cut" except as already mentioned. I have read also what Warren says of Barclay's statement, in the "Recovery of Jerusalem," but get no light on this particular tunnel.




PLAN OF ANCIENT SEWER AT JERUSALEM.

[*Note.*—In the spring of 1865 I entered the sewer described by Dr. Merrill at the point B, with Dr. Schick, who probably mistook the date when writing in 1902. We followed the sewer through the portion cut out of the rock until we found our way blocked by earth, and then

returned. Dr. Schick was asked to watch for a favourable opportunity for the examination of the sewer, but apparently never found one. Dr. Merrill has been fortunate enough to make a most interesting discovery, and one that may have some bearing on the topography of Ophel. May not this sewer be the passage by which the people of Silwân introduced some Egyptian soldiers when Ismail Pasha took Jerusalem?—C. W. W.]

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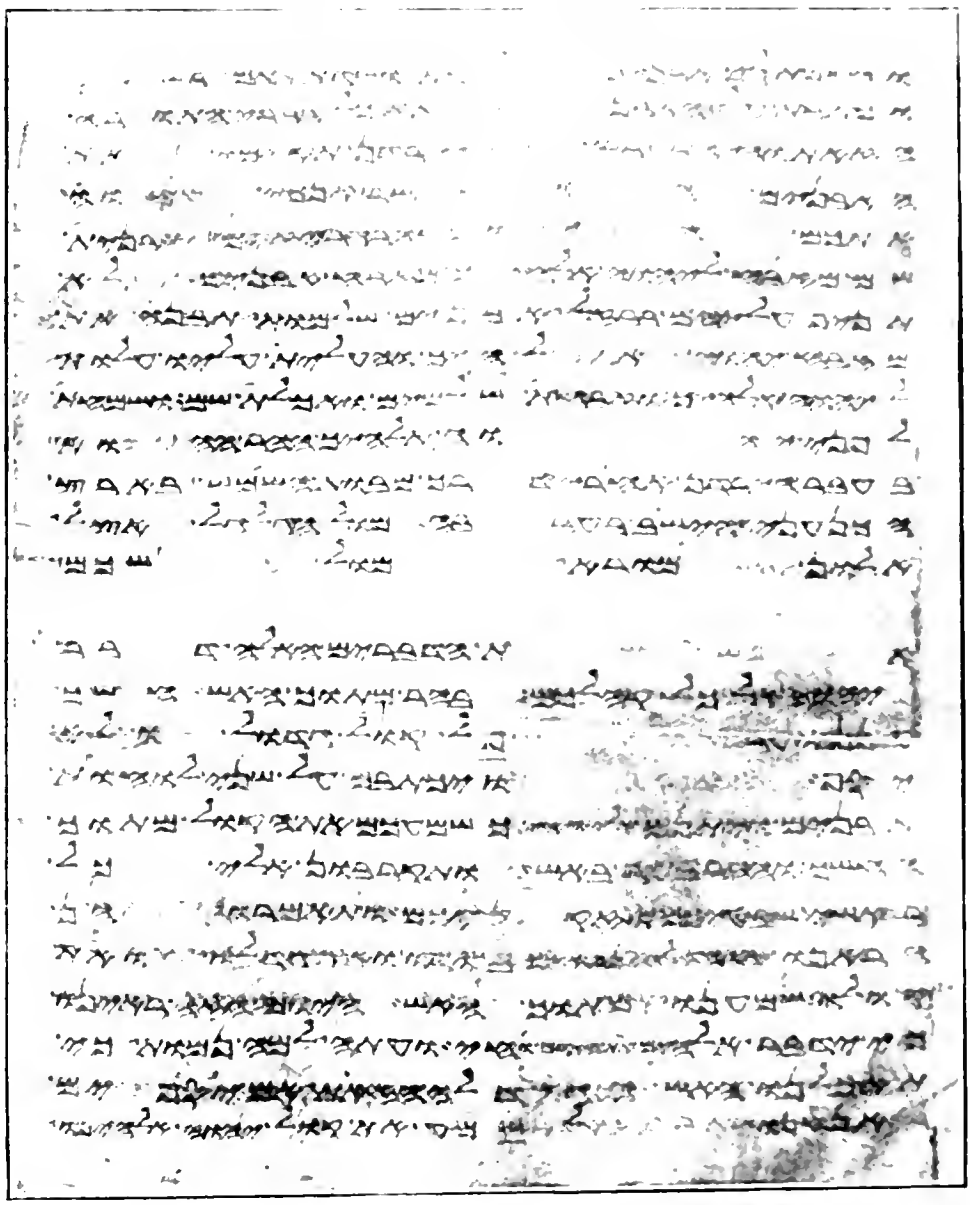
# A SUPPOSED EARLY COPY OF THE SAMARITAN PENTATEUCH.

By A. E. Cowley, Bodleian Library, Oxford.

Some time ago a statement appeared in the daily papers announcing the discovery of a Samaritan Pentateuch dated in the year 116 of the Hejra, *i.e.*, 734 A.D. As this was brought to my notice at the Bodleian Library, and as I was fortunate enough to obtain photographs of it, which enabled me to judge of the facts, I wrote a note on the subject in the *Jewish Quarterly Review*, vol. xvi, p. 483. Since then a friend has sent me a cutting from one of the daily papers, and the Secretary of the Fund has received an account of the MS. from Dr. Baroody, editor of *At-ṭabîb* in Beyrout, so that it may be of interest to readers of the *Quarterly Statement* to know something about the volume. Of course an eighth century copy of the Pentateuch would be of great interest. Of the Masoretic text we have nothing *dated* earlier than the St. Petersburg codex of 916 A.D., though Dr. Ginsburg in his introduction assigns an undated MS. to an earlier period. No Samaritan copy, as far as I know, is nearly as old as this. The earliest (dated) is probably the fragment mentioned by Harkavy, which was written in 599 A.H. = 1202 (3) A.D., and is now in St. Petersburg. There is, of course, the famous copy at Nâblus, said to have been written by Abisha, the great-grandson of Aaron, 13 years after the settlement of the Israelites in Canaan, but as no scholar has ever had an opportunity of really examining it, we are justified in leaving it out of consideration. Fragments also exist in which an early date has been forged for commercial purposes.

The present copy, therefore, although it would probably not add much to our knowledge of the text, would be our earliest evidence for either recension of the Pentateuch if its age were really as stated. Such, however, is unfortunately not the case. The accompanying plate shows the manner in which the date is given. In the early chapters of Deuteronomy the scribe begins to divide the text into two columns. When he comes to a letter required for what would usually be the

colophon, he moves it slightly to the left of its natural position in the text, and writes it in the vacant space between the columns, thus forming a sort of acrostic down the middle of the page. In the present copy the date appears on a subsequent page, of which I have a photograph, thus [illegible], written, of



SPECIMEN PAGE OF THE SAMARITAN MANUSCRIPT (A.D. 1495-6)

course, perpendicularly. It is evident that, on the system described, it cannot be forged, because the letters composing it belong to the text and must fit into the adjacent words. The only question is, how are we to interpret it? If it were read in the Hebrew manner, though

even in Hebrew the letters would not be in this order, except for special reasons; no doubt it would mean 115 or 116 (according as the dots mean that the א is to be deleted or not) of the Hejra, *i.e.*, 733 (4) A.D. But it is not the Samaritan custom to express dates in this way. The scribe speaks Arabic, and naturally thinks of the number in the most usual Arabic order, which is the precise reverse of our own. For example, in a Pentateuch at Cambridge (MS. Add. 1846), in a colophon written in the ordinary way, and not acrostically as here, the date is שנת ד׳ ו׳ מ׳ ו׳ ה׳ מיואן למילנות ישמעאל, *i.e.*, 544 A.H. = 1149 A.D. If the scribe had chosen to write ק for מיואן = מאות (as he would have done in the acrostic form, to save trouble), דומוהק would be an exact parallel to אוטק. Similarly in another Cambridge Pentateuch (MS. Add. 714), using the words instead of the numeral letters, in the same order שנת שבע ושלשים ושבע מאות = 737, and again, שנת שלשה וששים ושבע מאות = 763. A different order is sometimes used, but this is the most common. We must, therefore, read the אוטק (the dots are of no significance) as אחד ותשע מאות, *i.e.*, 901 A.H. = 1495 (6) A.D., a date which is not sensational, but which agrees with the character of the writing.

Dr. Baroody informs us that the scribe's name, as given in the acrostic, is Jacob ben Joseph ben Meshalmah (*?*). Without further detail it is impossible to identify him with certainty, but he may possibly be the same Jacob b. Joseph who in 874 A.H. = 1469 A.D., bought the British Museum Pentateuch described by Mr. G. Margoliouth in the *Jewish Quarterly Review*, vol. xv, p. 637. If so, he lived at Damascus, and probably made the present copy from the British Museum MS. for the High Priest, Eleazar, who died in 914 A.H. = 1508 A.D.

The variants said to occur in the text are simply those found in all Samaritan copies. Hence the volume unfortunately turns out to be nothing but an ordinary, though well written, MS. of the end of the fifteenth century, of no special importance.

# NOTICES OF FOREIGN PUBLICATIONS.

*Die Provincia Arabia* auf Grund zweier in den Jahren, 1897 und 1898, unternommenen Reisen und der Berichte früherer Reisender, beschrieben von Rudolf Ernst Brünnow und Alfred v. Domaszewski. Erster Band Die Romerstrasse von Mâdebâ über Petra und Odruh bis El ʿAḳaba unter Mitwirkung von Julius Euting: Strassburg, Verlag von Karl J. Trübner, 1904 (price 80 marks).

The summary accounts which Professor Brünnow communicated to the *Mittheilungen und Nachrichten des Deutschen Palästina Vereins* (1897, &c.) of his own and Professor v. Domaszewski's journeys in Moab, Edom, and other lands to the east of Jordan, were full enough of geographical and archæological data to give promise that when these two scholars were able to give us the full results of their travels we should find our knowledge of the geography of Moab and Edom, and of their history especially in Roman times, immensely increased. This promise has now been fulfilled by the publication of the sumptuous volume, an abridgement of whose title-page is given above. It is a large quarto of 530 pages, on the printing, illustration, and binding of which neither art nor expense has been spared, and from that point of view alone it is worth its high price. The illustrations consist of 276 autotypes from photographs taken for the most part by the authors themselves or under their direction; four plates in heliogravure, two in colours, three large maps on the scale of $\frac{1}{100000}$, and one general map on $\frac{1}{700000}$ of the country east of the Jordan; one large map and 20 others of Petra; 11 plates of Nabatean inscriptions prepared by Professor Euting; two double plates, 272 drawings and plans, and 24 sketches in zincotype, and 13 sheets in lithography by Paul Huguenin; a truly magnificent list of illustrations, executed with care and taste by their distinguished artists, among whom we have further to name the well-known firm of Wagner and Debes as responsible for the maps.

Nor is the scientific interest of the volume less than the æsthetic. Messrs Brünnow and v. Domaszewski have carefully surveyed the land of Moab south and east of the part covered by Colonel Conder's survey, and the land of Edom south of that. Professor Brünnow's triangulation is grounded on a great triangle formed by the three far-seen summits of Shîḥân, Jebel Jiyâl and Ḥafret Ḳaʿdân, with a measured base of 1,000 metres in the neighbourhood of el-Ḳasṭal. He has connected this triangulation with that of the English survey, and claims for it a correctness north of the Wady el-Ḥesâ within 200 metres. South of that wady he was unable, on account of weather, to reach the same degree of correctness, but he believes that even here the probable error is not more than 500 metres. These calculations were further tested by determinations of latitude, frequent and careful notes of the times occupied on his journeys between different points, and by sketches of variations in the

level of the ground. To all this were added numerous observations of heights by aneroid. The calculations have been re-worked by Professor Kunze.

Very careful attention has been paid to the archaeology of the region; but, except in Petra, this has not been carried behind the Roman occupation, and the authors have avoided all identification of Old Testament names. Travellers east of the Jordan will recognise the need of the one remark which Professor Brünnow permits himself to make in connection with this latter subject. I have pointed out how apt the ancient names have been to drift in this region, and he rightly reminds us that there is a question as to whether their present attachment is the same as that which held in Old Testament times, or is not rather due to later identifications in the times of either the Maccabees or the Christian Church. The authors had no firman for excavation, but they have carefully examined and reproduced the monuments and inscriptions which are above ground. Even where their stay in a place has been short their reports and illustrations will facilitate future investigations. They have produced a standard work, which, partly from their own achievements, and partly by their full quotations from previous travellers, supersedes, within its limits, every other in the same region, and will prove itself indispensable, whether to the excavator, geographer, or historian of Moab and Edom. Professor Brünnow's claim is just, that "never before has the land been so systematically investigated upon one consistent plan, never yet has the attempt been made to treat all the ruins from a comparative standpoint, and to trace them to their origin, although even here a good deal of detail, especially with regard to the Roman Limes, has been anticipated by the French Dominicans and Assumptionists in Jerusalem. But it is Domaszewski's thorough investigations which for the first time have clearly laid down the course of the Limes, and defined its origin and gradual extension towards the desert."

A second volume will treat of the later Roman road running from Ma'ân northwards along the border of the desert to its junction with the old Trajan road at the Ḳal'at ez-Zerḳa and through the eastern part of Ajlûn to Boṣrâ and thence by Suwêdâ, Ḳanawât and Shuhba to eḍ-Ḍumêr. This volume, after tracing the connective routes to Jerusalem, follows Trajan's road from Mâdebâ southwards by Petra and Oḏruḥ to el-'Akaba. It consists of four sections—first, a geographical survey of the country east of the Jordan in general, and in its various divisions; second, detailed itineraries on the Roman road from Mâdebâ to Petra, with excursions along the tributary routes; third, monographs on Petra; fourth, Oḏruḥ and the Roman road to el-'Akaba. There are added the first part of a very full bibliography, both of works of travel, and works on the antiquities of Petra; indices of names, Greek proper names and words, Nabatean proper names, and other matters.

The space at my disposal forbids a detailed criticism, nor do I feel competent to deal with the sections on Petra and the road thence to

el-'Akaba. I will merely offer a few observations on the second section so far as it deals with the stretch of the road between Madeba and Kerak, referring the reader for further details to a paper on this district which I had prepared for the *Quarterly Statement* before this great volume came into my hands.[1]

It does not derogate from the value of the volume to point out the gaps which both its itineraries and maps leave in the geography of Moab. The most noticeable of these covers the complicated system of wadies south of the Zerka Ma'in, tributary to the Wady el-Waleh, and lying between the Roman road on the east and 'Aṯârus and Machaerus on the west. Professor Brünnow appears to have traversed or skirted this district (*see* pp. 23 f.); but he offers no place names and marks no wadies on his map west of the Wady "Minshef Abu Zeid." In my paper I have given the names of four wadies which I received here from natives. Again, nothing would have been more valuable among all that he has given us than a detailed description of the ruins of Dibân with a plan of them and of the hills and wadies over which they are scattered. Previous travellers describe the site as on two hills; there are really three within the main city walls and the surrounding wadies, and ruins lie scattered besides across the latter. Again, the maps fail to mark the important ruins on the east base of the Jebel Shîḥân, and the milestone on the north slope of the latter discovered by Dr. Bliss is omitted.

In the Wady el-Môjib, in the description and plan of the Roman ruins, a few minutes above the bed of the stream on the south side (to which the name Meḥaṭṭet el-Ḥajj is sometimes applied equally with those above on the edge of the plateau), no trace is given of the remains of the stables on the terrace in front of the ruin, with their stone mangers and troughs: an omission very remarkable where such pains have evidently been taken with the reproduction of the main building; nor is any indication given of the scattered blocks in the centre of the quadrangle. Dr. Brünnow is also in error as to the numbering of the two groups of milestones below and above this building. He gives the former as 15 (p. 36), the latter as 16 (p. 40) from Madeba. But as he has already correctly given the neighbouring group on the north bank of the Wady (and therefore nearer Mâdebâ), as by their own evidence 20 from that city (p. 34), his numbers, 15 and 16, must be wrong. Father Germer Durand (*Revue Biblique* VI. 1897) had already the correct numbers. On one of the higher groups he read MP XV, and on one of the lower A RAB MP XVI, *i.e.*, 15 and 16 miles respectively, not from Mâdebâ, but from Rabba.

These, however, are slight blemishes in a work so generally distinguished by its numerous additions to the geographical and archæological data of Moab, and by its great carefulness and accuracy. They serve to prove, what Professor Brünnow himself will be the first to admit, that a very great deal remains to be done before we have a map

[1] *See* above, pp. 367 *sqq.*

of southern Moab as reliable as that which we possess for the northern part.

In conclusion, I must draw attention to the way in which Professor Brünnow's results have revolutionised our knowledge of the tributaries of the Môjib and of the wadies which combine to form at el-Kerak the Wady el-Kerak. Hitherto the latter have been supposed to rise far to the east of el-Kerak, near the Ḥajj road. But Professor Brünnow has proved the existence of a high ridge immediately to the east of Kerak, and the rise of the Kerak wadies to the west of this and south of el-Kerak; and shown that the northern tributaries of the Môjib extend east of el-Kaṭraneh and the Ḥajj road, and far south over the plateau to below the latitude of el-Kerak.

Professor GEORGE ADAM SMITH.

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*Correction.*—On p. 282 the reference to the "holy fire" should read, "Under the date April 21st, 1101 (Easter Day), we read that, in consequence of the non-appearance of the 'holy fire' on Easter Eve, the Patriarch," &c.

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## NOTES AND QUERIES.

1. *Remarks on the Gezer Tablet.*—It will be admitted that the personal names in this tablet can be read in various ways; and they perhaps add to the indications.

The date being 649 B.C., and the name of the Assyrian eponym for the year being as yet unknown in Gezer, it seems impossible that the expression *Bêl Pikhati Bar Khalṣi*, "Local Governor of Bar-Khalṣu" can apply to the official succeeding *Assur-dur-uṣur*, as no one could say if he belonged to that place.

This title therefore would seem to stand alone, as meaning "The local ruler *is the ruler of* Bar Khalṣi." If this be admitted, the local ruler would appear to be specified as having his head-quarters at Beer-Khalṣi, which might be very well Elṣa, south of Beersheba. This would represent an Assyrian province in the lowlands of Palestine, extending from the borders of Egypt to Gezer.

In the obverse (line 5) we have the signs (in their original language) GUM-UKU-MES. AL-RI AN-AA. Dr. Pinches has probably reasons for rendering this "slaves" (*GUM-UKU-MES*), but I should have supposed the natural meaning to be "natives" of

the place. The first of these was AL RI AN AA. The divine name AA (as Dr. Pinches himself has pointed out) often stands for *Yah*, *Yahu*, or Jehovah, and also—according to others—for *Malal* or *Melech* "King."

It will be admitted that the sign AL (or ṬI) very often in Akkadian stands for the causative of the verb, and that RI has the meaning of *nadu* "to present." So that, taken ideographically, AL-RI might be read in Hebrew *Nathan*.

If this is admitted, the name, provisionally rendered Turi-aa, may really be read *Nathan-Melech*. This we know as a historical name among Hebrews, rather earlier than the date of the Gezer tablet (2 Kings xxiii, 11). We have also Nethaniah (2 Kings xxv, 23).

C. R. CONDER.

2. *Remarks on the Gezer Tablet.*—A word of comment upon Colonel Conder's interesting notes and queries may be allowed. The scribe of the Gezer Tablet might have known that the next eponym must, in the course of a regular rotation, be the *bêl pahâti* of Bar Ḫalṣi, though he did not yet know his name. It is not necessary, however, to resort to such an explanation; for the title was not given by him to the unknown eponym, but to Asur-dûr-uṣur himself. He was the *šakna* or *bêl pahâti* of Bar Ḫalṣi, as recorded on No. 533 of my *Assyrian Deeds and Documents*.

It is not clear what Colonel Conder reads *GUM-UKU*, but *nîši* is the accepted rendering in such a connection. The meaning "people" may be taken, if by a man's "people" we understand the whole of his household. A man is often said to be sold "with his people," and these included slaves as well as closer relations. As to the name *A-A*, which Professor Jensen would read Aya, it was once the name of an independent divinity (Jastrow's *Religion of Babylonia and Assyria*, p. 74). In process of time this divinity became subordinated to Šamaš, at any rate in the religion of Sippara. That resulted in his losing his sex, and becoming merely a consort, or "face" of Šamaš, and as such feminine. In this form of the cult the divinity *A-A* was called Malkatu, that is, she was the Queen of Šamaš. It is a long step to argue that when masculine and independent *A-A* was called Malik. That may be true, and there certainly was a god Ma-lik, whose name occurs occasionally, at all periods. There is no evidence that he

was identified at any period with the divinity *A-A*. On the other hand, the signs *AN-A-A* occur in the Assyrian period so frequently, and in such connections, that it is simply impossible to suppose them to denote any separate divinity. They must be read *ilai*, that is, phonetically not ideographically. They interchange with *ili*, and either represent a verb, such as *ili'*, "is powerful," or the like, or else they are a way of writing *ili*, "my god." The difficulty of the latter view is that we should have to make Ṭûri-ilai mean "Ṭûr ('Rock of Ages'?) is my god," which seems less likely than "my rock is strong." As for Colonel Conder's reading *AL* in place of *TU* it is very unlikely. Further, it is not easy to see how Nathan could be derived from *nadu*. The cuneiform writing corresponding to Nathan is Natanu.

With these small criticisms we may feel grateful for the illuminating suggestions and identifications proposed by Colonel Conder.

Rev. C. H. W. Johns.

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3. *Note on Objects in the Government Museum at Jerusalem.*—When in Jerusalem last July I had the pleasure of spending a day assisting His Excellency Makridi Bey to arrange the antiquities displayed in the Museum, and made the following notes:—

(1) *The Zakariya Jar-handle* (*see* above, p. 211).—I examined the stamp on this handle with great care, and satisfied myself that there is no inscription upon it, the characters between the angles of the pentacle being purely conventional.

(2) *The Table of Oblations with Greek Inscription from Tell el-Hesy* (Bliss, *M.M.C.*, p. 104).—I took a rubbing of this inscription, a facsimile of which is subjoined. It seems to me rather too formal


to be a mere graffito, and I do not think it is so archaic as has been suggested. It is not easy, however, to see any meaning in it. The horizontal stroke at the foot of the last letter does not belong to the inscription, but the loop at the head, whatever it may signify, seems intentional.

R. A. S. Macalister.

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